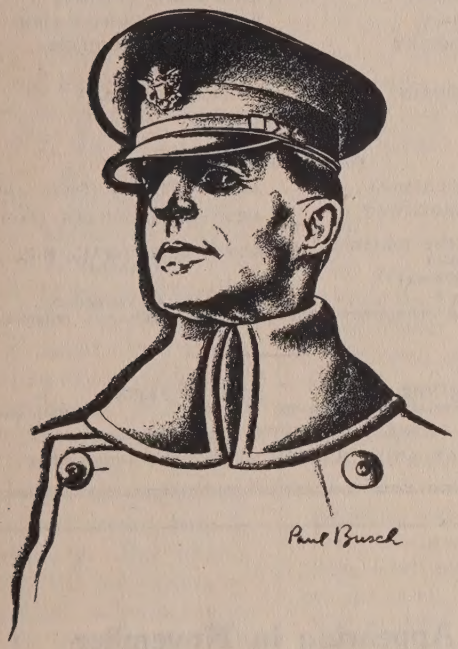
The
World Tomorrow

OCTOBER, 1931



THE MILITARY MIND

Has Bernhardi Become Chief of Staff?

General Mac Arthur Replies

Mr. Fey's Supporting Evidence

More Reflections of the Military Mind

The Bloody International

Radicalism and Religion

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Fire Drill For Pacifists

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorials	307
Has Bernhardi Become Chief of Staff? By Harold E. Fey	312
General Mac Arthur Replies	314
Mr. Fey's Supporting Evidence	315
Further Reflections of the Military Mind	316
The Bloody International. By H. C. Engelbrecht	317
The Hope of the World In Its Minorities. By Harry Emerson Fosdick	320
Conscience Versus the State	321
Not in the Headlines	322
Fire Drill for Pacifists. By Chester S. Williams	323
Radicalism and Religion. By Reinhold Niebuhr	324
Unemployment Insurance	327
Findings	328
The Book End	329
Correspondence	332
The Last Page	334

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HOW MAY ANOTHER WORLD WAR BE AVERTED?

Ten Significant Articles by

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV October, 1931 No. 10

Editorials

The Military Mind

The war system is perpetuated by the military mind. In every country there are protagonists of the theory that national security may be found only in armaments. These men are usually sincere in their convictions and are often able in their advocacy. They seek to indoctrinate the citizenry of their respective countries with the idea that there is imminent danger of invasion by the enemy, that only by maintaining armed forces of such strength that the foe will not dare to attack can safety be assured, and that national destruction is the penalty of failing to make adequate provisions for armed preparedness.

The military mind would be comparatively harmless if found only in one country. But unfortunately the militarists of one nation stimulate and provoke those across the border or over the ocean. A race of armaments thus becomes inevitable, releasing fears, passions and imprecations. The disastrous results of military and naval rivalry are revealed with tragic vividness in the pre-war history of Europe. That the race of armaments was a primary cause of the World War is now widely recognized.

It is easy enough for Americans to realize the menace of French militarism, for example. The maintenance of a huge French army, the construction of new fortifications, and the negotiation of additional military alliances can never furnish the safety craved by the French people because this frantic effort to maintain security by armaments generates fears, enmities, and the desire for revenge among Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, Russians, and other peoples. If for a single year the voice of the French militarists could be silenced, the nations of Europe would undoubtedly demand and secure drastic reductions in armaments and thereby increase their security. It is generally conceded that France's obsession concerning armaments constitutes the chief barrier to the success of the World Disarmament Conference.

But the peace forces of the United States could make no greater mistake than to assume that the French militarists are the chief sinners. They are merely using the orthodox arguments of the military mind in every land. Advocates of armed preparedness in the United States are far less justified than are the militarists of France. In terms of geography and history, the people of the United States possess incomparably greater security than do the inhabitants of European countries. If under these favorable circumstances our Navy League demands "a moderate program" of 767 million dollars for new naval construction, what would it regard as imperative were this country actually surrounded by enemies, as is the case with France or Germany? What shrieks of alarm would pour forth from our generals and admirals if a huge Japanese navy were permanently assembled a few miles out from the Golden Gate, or if Mexico were our equal in strength and maintained a standing army of half a million men!

The military mind is usually cynical concerning the efficacy of non-violent means of defense. Little trust is placed in treaties and agencies of justice. The League of Nations is often sneered at as a League of "Notions" and furnishes the occasion for many sarcastic remarks. To the extent that military preparedness campaigns are effective, the endeavor to supplant the war system by a peace system is made more difficult. And since the war system, if perpetuated, will cer-

> General Smedley D. Butler:
>
> We don't want any more wars, but a man is a damn fool to think there won't be any more of them. I am a peace-loving Quaker, but when War breaks out every damn man in my family goes. If we're ready, nobody will tackle us. Give us a club and we will face them all. None of us would walk out and sock Jack Dempsey on the nose if we didn't know how to fight and both hands were crippled. Well, we won't go out to anybody else unless we've got the goods and produce them. There is no use talking about abolishing war; that's damn foolishness. Take the guns away from men and they will fight just the same. . . . It takes a hell of a lot of abuse to get us riled up, but once we get going, look out for us. In the Spanish-American War we didn't have any bullets to shoot, and if we had not had a war with a nation that was already licked and looking for an excuse to quit, we would have had hell licked out of us. No pacifists or Communists are going to govern this country. If they try it there will be seven million men like you rise up and strangle them. Pacifists? Hell, I'm a pacifist, but I always have a club behind my back.—*The New York Times, August 21, 1931.*

tainly produce further titanic armed conflicts, the military mind stands revealed as a terrible menace to mankind.

Overcharging Our Debtors

Nine of the thirteen nations that secured war loans from the United States are being charged a higher rate of interest than our Government is now required to pay on its bonds. The significance of this statement is increased by the remembrance that not a dollar of the *principal* of any war debt has been cancelled by our Government. Our generosity took the form of reducing rates of interest from the 5 per cent and 4½ per cent specified in the various agreements. The war debts of Great Britain, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, and Czecho-Slovakia to the United States are now bearing approximately 3.3 per cent interest, the last two being slightly lower than the other seven.

The United States Government is now borrowing money at 3 per cent. The recent treasury offering of 20-24 year bonds to the extent of 800 million dollars was oversubscribed by 400 millions. That is to say, investors are eager to lend to the Government at only 3 per cent. If the present funding agreements are carried out, we will therefore charge nine debtors a higher rate of interest than is now being paid by our Government, and they will be obliged to pay one billion fifty million dollars more than would be required at 3 per cent interest. Only France, Italy, Belgium, and Jugoslavia will receive any cancellation whatever. In these four cases the reduction has been drastic.

Another factor should be kept in mind. The change in the price level makes it necessary for our debtors, in order to repay us, to sell a 20 per cent larger quantity of goods than was originally secured with the money borrowed from us. The raising of our tariff wall makes it increasingly difficult for our debtors to secure the favorable trade balance required in order to transfer large sums into American currency, without further borrowing.

The statement cannot be repeated too often nor emphasized too strongly that the network of war debts and reparation is strangling international trade and endangering world peace. Further drastic reductions are imperatively demanded on economic, political, and moral grounds. Fortunately, there is reason to believe that President Hoover is prepared to recommend a downward revision of the war debt settlements provided he can be convinced that he will receive the support of public opinion. It is therefore of supreme importance that citizens should urge the President to follow his moratorium proposal with early steps to reduce war debts and reparations. This generous action by the United States would increase materially the probability of the success of the Disarmament Conference.

Monroe Doctrine Repudiated

Mexico's acceptance of membership in the League of Nations was accompanied by a statement repudiating the Monroe Doctrine. This action emphasizes the hostility of a large section of Latin America to the overlordship of the United States. There was a day when our southern neighbors were eager to be afforded protection against European exploitation. But the need for the original Monroe Doctrine has long since passed. There is no longer any danger of further European colonization on the American continents, nor any probability of the establishment of monarchies in the New World. Indeed, Latin American countries are far more afraid of exploitation by the United States than by Europe. They have long regarded the Monroe Doctrine as a smoke screen behind which we extend our economic and political domain southward.

Fortunately, the present Administration in Washington gives evidence of returning to the original meaning of President Monroe's pronouncement and of abandoning the Roosevelt corollary. Statements in recent months by Mr. Stimson, Mr. Reuben Clark and Mr. Castle make it clear that the Monroe Doctrine does not obligate the United States to intervene in Latin American countries in seeking to protect the lives and property of citizens of this country or of foreign lands. The need for the doctrine having passed, and the Government of the United States apparently having ceased to use it as justification for our policy in Latin America, the cause of international friendship would be advanced by formal recognition that the Monroe Doctrine is dead, and the taking of appropriate steps to accord it an official funeral.

This Reeling World

Recent events in England have moved with startling and kaleidoscopic rapidity. Rash is the prophet who ventures to predict the future course of events. Certain aspects of the situation, however, seem to have been clarified. That the class struggle has been intensified is obvious. Equally clear is the tendency toward higher tariffs. The world supremacy of the pound sterling has been shattered, perhaps permanently, and Britain's struggle to recover dominance in international trade has been made more difficult.

The struggle between capitalism and socialism is likely to become increasingly relentless. The throwing overboard of the right-wing pilot and pay-master will undoubtedly cause the Labor Party to veer sharply to the left. The cry "Socialism in our time" assumes new political significance. In opposition or in office Labor will press vigorously for greater equality in standards of living. Instead of consenting to a reduction in the social services, including unemployment benefits, higher appropriations for the common wel-

fare are sure to be demanded. Likewise an effort will be made to increase taxation of the higher incomes and larger estates. Equality of sacrifice will be interpreted, not as slashes in income all along the line, but as a closer approach to a common standard of living for all classes. The early nationalization of banking will be vigorously advocated. Correctly or incorrectly, the Labor Party is convinced that the recent crisis was precipitated by bankers, British and international, for the purpose of compelling reductions in the dole and other social services. Nationalization of the railways and mines will also be pressed with new vigor. This whole program is obnoxious to the Conservative and will be bitterly contested.

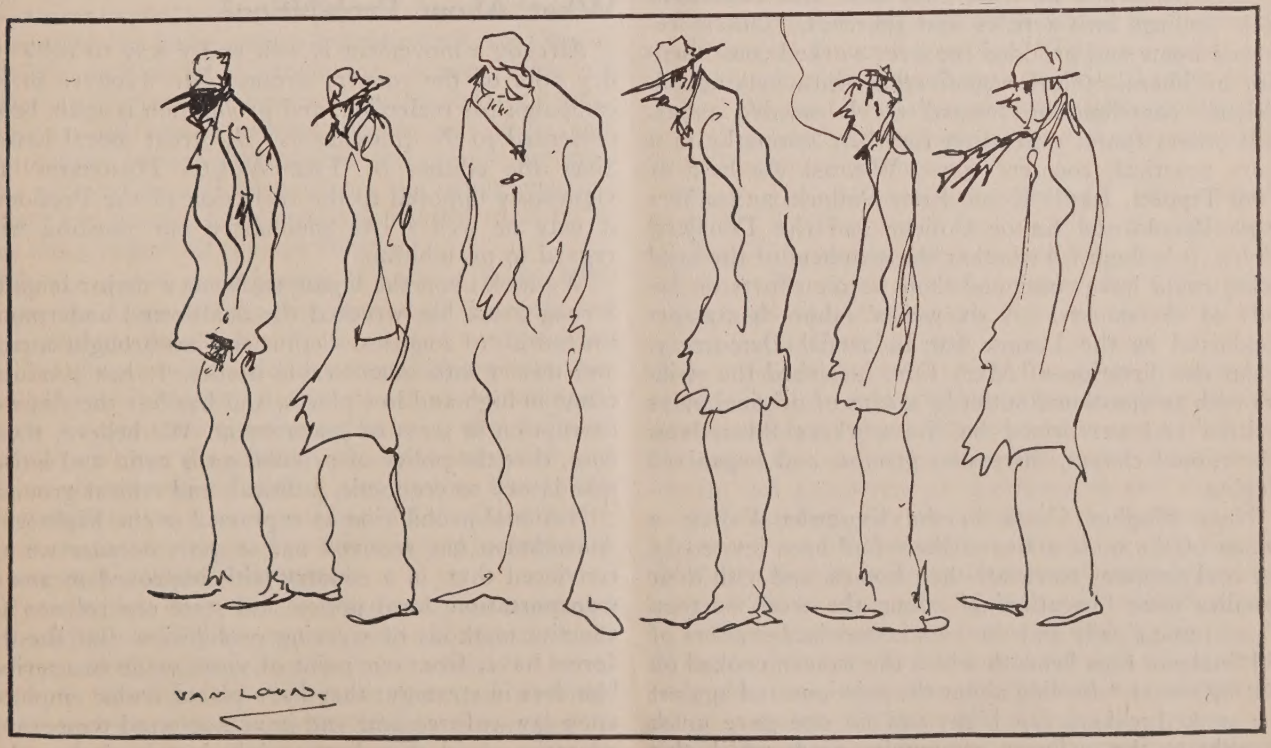
Praise or condemnation for Ramsay MacDonald's action will be determined by one's judgment as to whether wisdom demands an attempt to reform and save capitalism, or to proceed rapidly with the endeavor to create a socialist commonwealth. THE WORLD TOMORROW is strongly convinced that boldness and vigor on the part of the Labor Party will lead more rapidly to the goal of an equitable society than will the policy chosen by the deposed leader, although we take off our hats in admiration of the Scotman's courageous and sacrificial loyalty to his own convictions.

Britain's determination to maintain free trade in a world of high tariff walls has been shaken by the prolonged economic depression and is likely to be abandoned. The Labor Government issued frequent warnings that England could not continue free trade unless customs barriers were lowered elsewhere. Thus the prosperity and peace of the world is to be further threatened by higher tariffs. Here is another bitter fruit of the iniquitous Smoot-Hawley Act.

The experts are divided as to the ultimate effects of the abandonment, at least temporarily, of the gold standard. Such action has long been advocated by outstanding labor leaders. Reverberations around the earth emphasize afresh the interdependence of all peoples. The nations are destined to sink or swim together.

Arnold Johnson Released

The flimsy nature of the charges on which Arnold Johnson was imprisoned in the Harlan County, Kentucky, jail was laid bare when the presiding judge, for the third time, agreed to dismiss the case if Johnson would agree to leave the county. The latter, believing that no useful purpose could be served by staying longer in prison, consented and is once more "a free man."



Courtesy of The Nation

"Anyway, our characters are not being ruined by the dole!"

Here is proof that the processes of justice are being prostituted in the class war to prevent miners from organizing effective unions to safeguard their rights and interests. Johnson committed no crime except refusing to flee when his life was threatened by agents of the mine operators who objected to his activities in administering relief for the strikers and in attempting to secure legal aid for the latter. Thereupon he was arrested on a charge of criminal syndicalism and held in jail for some weeks. Now he has been released without ever having been brought to trial.

It is high time that the intellectuals in America should awaken to the fact that the workers, in their struggle for a decent livelihood, are frequently victimized by violence at the hands of strikebreakers and private guards engaged by the employers, and by legal lawlessness on the part of public officials. The excesses and crimes of labor are usually heralded in bold type, whereas news of violence and injustice against the workers is generally suppressed. If violent class war on a colossal scale is to be avoided, agencies of justice must not be used as tools of the owning class.

Among the Striking Miners

The strike which the West Virginia Mine Workers Union has been waging during the past summer attracted numerous transient observers. Some became greatly perturbed at what they saw and condensed their feelings into articles and speeches. Others returned home and prodded the over-worked constituencies of liberal-radical organizations into making additional contributions toward sorely needed relief. Still others found expression for their sympathy in a more practical, concrete way. Without the help of Tom Tippett, Lucile Kohn, Kitty Pollock, and others from Brookwood Labor College and the Teachers' Union, it is doubtful whether the members of the local union could have continued their heroic efforts on behalf of the miners. A six weeks' labor chautauqua conducted by the League for Industrial Democracy, under the direction of Mary Fox, furnished the strikers with an emotional outlet by means of original plays written and performed by the workers themselves, educational classes, discussion groups, and organized singing.

Near Hughes Creek in the Kanawha Valley, a dozen of the most active strikers had been invited by the coal company to vacate their homes, and with their families were "vacationing" along the creek bottom. Tents came slowly and the men improvised shelters of old linoleum rugs beneath which the women cooked on rusting stoves. Feeling about the evictions and against the strike-breakers ran high, and no one gave much thought to the ordinary community needs which this enforced encampment of fifty people had created. Early in August Walter Ludwig, representing Pioneer Youth of America, moved into the colony. Under a scrub oak he pitched a tent fly which served both as the children's workshop and his own bunkhouse. Starting with craft work, stories, games and a rhythm band his work with the young people gradually assumed community significance. After constructing some badly needed tables and benches, the boys turned their attention to the "good and welfare" of the colony's only water supply, an open spring. Some of the children helped the strikers clean the spring, enclose it, and pipe out the water. Whereupon a "suspicious" rating from the state laboratory was changed to "safe". More immediate strike ends were served when several of the miners came to the shop and assisted the young people in composing and painting signs for a hunger march.

Obviously those intellectuals who wish to align themselves with workers are not limited to a choice between the picket line or a night in jail. There are many equally useful if less spectacular industrial jobs to be done—as demonstrated in West Virginia. Never has it been more apparent that long-term solutions are required for labor problems. Helping fit tomorrow's workers to hold and advance today's social and industrial gains ought to be an inviting task for any liberal or radical spirit interested in the development of an effective labor movement and a vital labor culture.

What About Prohibition?

Already a movement is well under way to rally the dry vote of the country around Mr. Hoover in his campaign for reelection, and prohibition is again being presented to the churches as "*the* great moral issue." Since the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW are vigorously opposed to the reelection of the President, it may be well if we summarize our position with regard to prohibition.

We look upon the liquor traffic as a major iniquity. Strong drink has wrecked the health and undermined the morals of countless victims and has brought sorrow and misery into innumerable homes. It has produced crime in high and low places, and has left the slime of corruption in seats of government. We believe, therefore, that the policy of prohibition is valid and indeed mandatory on economic, political, and ethical grounds.

National prohibition as expressed in the Eighteenth Amendment has received our support because we are convinced that, in a country with improved means of transportation, local option and state control are not effective methods of securing prohibition. But the dry forces have, from our point of view, made two serious blunders in strategy: they have placed undue emphasis upon law enforcement and have neglected temperance education; and they have vainly imagined that they could by severe punishment enforce what is in many communities an extremely unpopular law. We are con-

nced that it is futile and unwise to use *ruthless* measres against a minority which includes as much as 30 er cent of the population, to say nothing of an actual ajority in many cities. Drastic attempts to enforce a w which carries little moral weight with large sections f the community only serve to create further antagoism toward the law. When moderate means are ineective, nullification is the result. That is to say, laws nnot be enforced unless supported by the moral conictions of a considerable proportion of the people. he alternatives now before the American public are epeal, governmental sale, or nullification in regions here public opinion is opposed to prohibition. There re obvious differences of opinion as to whether it is ocially advisable to repeal and experiment with govrnmental sale, or, on the other hand, submit to nullication in certain communities because of the values of rohibition elsewhere and in the hope that by education nd experience the area of observance and effective nforcement may be widened.

Notwithstanding our advocacy of the abolition of he liquor traffic, we do not regard prohibition as the ost important issue in American politics. In our opinon, economic and international questions are transcenent in significance. Widespread hunger while granaries re bursting with grain, breadlines and soup kitchens n a land of riotous luxury, wholesale unemployment at time when multitudes require necessities, surplus of nvestment capital while millions lack funds with which o provide for basic needs, individualistic anarchy in ndustry and planless production, concentration of ower and privilege, industrial strife and civil war, uspicion and enmity among nations, war debts and eparations, foreign investments and armed intervenion, nationalism and imperialism, the whole question f war and peace—this combination seems to us to be ven more important than prohibition.

We are unable, consequently, to support the Republian or the Democratic party, since both are founded pon individualism and competition, and are not effecive instruments with which to accomplish the economic nd political program to which we are committed. Hence we advocate the formation of a new political arty based upon the principle of increasing social conrol of the sources of wealth and power. Under the ircumstances we are supporting the Socialist Party hich, we feel certain, will constitute an important part f any new political alignment.

The field of THE WORLD TOMORROW as envisaged y its editors covers economic questions, international roblems, race relations, and political affairs, all interreted in the light of radical religion and pacifism. While we expect to discuss prohibition from time to ime, we shall, as in the past, continue to devote most f our space to themes which fall nearer the center of ur field.

Revolution in the Y. M. C. A.

Action taken at the recent conventions of the Young Men's Christian Association at Cleveland constitutes nothing less than a revolution in attitude. Two conventions met on successive days, the World Conference of the Y. M. C. A., and the International Convention of the Y. M. C. A.'s of North America.

The World Conference, composed of delegates from some forty nations, stressed the importance of "actual and considerable reduction" in armaments. The sole guilt of Germany for the World War was disavowed, the delegates desiring "to dissociate themselves from the injustice of attributing to one nation or group of nations alone sole responsibility for the War." Racial discrimination was condemned, and the recommendation was made "that in calling national gatherings of the Y. M. C. A. in any country, care should be taken to see that all delegates may be received without discrimination as to accommodations and privileges."

The historic policy of "working within the zone of agreement" was departed from in the following resolution: "That Associations everywhere regard it as a privilege and responsibility to maintain an open platform for the public discussion of social and economic questions. That through forums, study groups, etc., a vigorous program of popular education on industrial questions be conducted for Association members."

The International Convention passed the following resolution on the race question: "That we go on record as urging all Associations to take definite steps toward the goal of making possible full participation in the Association program without discrimination as to race, color, or nationality."

When the conservative attitude of wealthy Y. M. C. A. directors is kept in mind, the following statement of principle becomes more significant: "The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, and safeguarding this right of continuous sustaining-employment against encroachments of every kind; a living, all-the-year-round wage as a minimum, adjusted to the needs of the family rather than the isolated individual; above this a social wage, permitting the wage-earners and their families a due share in the wealth and prosperity of the industry and the community, without discrimination of sex or race. . . . Insurance, socially administered at cost, against invalidism, disabilities from illness and occupational injuries, want in old age, and enforced unemployment. . . . The progressive development and application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property; the most equitable division of the product of industry that can be devised."

We congratulate the Association on the adoption of these vigorous resolutions and shall watch expectantly their translation into action.

Has Bernhardi Become Chief of Staff?

HAROLD E. FEY

IN *Conquest and Kultur,* one of the pamphlets issued by the official propaganda agency of the United States Government in 1918, there are sixteen quotations from the retired German General, F. von Bernhardi. These, together with scores of pages of similar material, were presented to the American public to expose German war guilt by means of the "utterances of those who planned and promoted the war." "One may not draw an indictment against a whole nation," reads the introduction to this document, "but it is at least permissible to allow its responsible leaders, intellectual and political, to define the creed according to which they have shaped the thought and action of the German people in the past generation."

Bernhardi, according to *Conquest and Kultur,* saw the World War coming as early as 1911. "We must prepare for war with the confident intention of conquering and with the iron resolve to persevere to the end, come what may." The next year he wrote: "War must regain its moral justification and its political significance in the eyes of the public. . . . War is a political necessity, and it is fought in the interest of biological, social, and moral progress."

For statements such as these, von Bernhardi, a retired Cavalry general who had taken to writing in his dotage, was held up to America as the high priest of German propagandists, his philosophy of war being given more space in this pamphlet than even that of the Kaiser.

But the world moves, and in the matter of providing a consistent and well-knit philosophy of war America has surpassed Germany of pre-war days. It is true that the business of providing a "moral justification of war" has suffered a loss of popularity since the Armistice, but younger minds than Bernhardi have tackled the problem, and we may confidently look forward to further advances along this necessary line of preparedness in the near future. One of the most promising of the men who are doing this intellectual undergirding of war is General Douglas Mac Arthur, until recently in command of the American forces in the Philippines and soon to succeed General Summerall as Chief of Staff of the United States Army. Barely fifty years of age, attractive, an eloquent speechmaker and a skillful writer, the General is an admirable person to rationalize war. His utterances, as one of our "responsible leaders," will doubtless be widely quoted at some future time by enemy professors engaged in the task of discovering "the creed according to which they have shaped the thought and action of the [American] people" in our generation. It will therefore be of interest to study two addresses which General Mac Arthur delivered last year during a tour of the Philippines.

THE first of these was made before the Manila Rotary Club on January 10, 1929, and since it is much the more significant of the two, it seems wise to quote from it rather extensively as it appeared in the *Tribune,* an independent Manila daily. Throughout it bears the marks of thorough preparation, and inasmuch as there was no retraction of any of its statements, probably stands as the carefully worded expression of the General's philosophy.

After reviewing the more recent efforts in the direction of peace and disarmament, General Mac Arthur sums up the results achieved by the brilliant minds co-operating in the League of Nations as follows: "The League of Nations, in its brief ten years, has evaded more difficulties than it has settled, has become a source of international jealousy and intrigue, has solved no serious problems and has prevented no serious wars."

He then states his thesis: "To abolish war we must remove its cause which lies in the imperfections of human nature. Man's spirit must be changed. . . . The changed spirit must be world-wide, for peace-loving nations, especially if prosperous and possessed of rich territory, that abandon their defences, invite and indeed provoke aggression as much as a flock of well nourished sheep with a lean and hungry wolf in the fold."

ACCORDING to Bernhardi, "War is a political necessity." Mac Arthur says: "In his political life no less than in his daily occupations, man indulges his passions and defends them with his intellect, and has thereby produced a social system based primarily on force. . . . The cardinal impulse of the typical human society is toward war, and the nemesis of the typical social unit is its inability to escape from this destiny of its own character. All social institutions carry within themselves the seeds of violence and death. . . ."

Bernhardi said, "War . . . is fought in the interest of biological progress." Mac Arthur combines racial and industrial conquest in one: "The industrial technique of modern white civilization is engaged in the conquest of the world. . . . It has produced a political and social system that simply and accurately reflects the primal instincts of all organic life: the imperious urgency of self-preservation, of self-perpetuation, of self-aggrandizement."

Like Bernhardi, Mac Arthur apparently has little confidence in constitutional processes. "War," said the

erman general, "is the highest expression of true civ-ization." A similar idea is ably set forth by our ew Chief of Staff: "The febrile record of constitu-onal and dynastic theories embodies the expedients by hich the elements of political life, order, and justice ave been preserved through a staggering variety of atastrophic interventions of God and man. . . . Con-uest over beasts, over natural obstacles and forces, nd over other men are stigmata of his [man's] prog-ess and bear witness to an insatiable ferocity which, n its essence, is war."

There follows a rather keen insight into the work-ngs of modern capitalism: "So far as man indulges the nstinct of self-aggrandizement, no matter how, he is aging war. Efforts to live without labor, to profit by he energies of other men, to pursue happiness and the njoyment of plenty—these make for war. These have roduced kings and slaves, riches and poverty, cities nd blights, creeds and civilizations, armies and wars. t is upon such that modern civilization has reared it-elf."

Bernhardi fails us here, and we turn to Treitschke, German historian: "The ideal of perpetual peace is not nly impossible but immoral as well." Mac Arthur, as sual, puts the matter more reasonably: "War is nherent in our way life. And war will persist until nen achieve a spiritual abdication in which they will refer to abandon to others the fruit of their labors, corn to receive more than they give, cast aside their resent ideals of manhood and honor, and substitute or them the bleak ideas of service and self-effacement. et these passive ideas are exactly those which spell uicide to a man, to a race, to a civilization. . . . The way of man is the way of the passionate deed."

AFTER enumerating the various kinds of wars, including religious wars, he says, "Men seem always to have killed one another more gladly in the name of God than for any other cause." The reason, according to Bernhardi, is that "War will unify and elevate the people."

Of course the Germans could not forsee what our generals now know: "The twentieth century witnessed a new kind of war. . . . The World War proved that no part of the world could be affected without touching all the world."

Again Bernhardi is inadequate, and once more we turn to Treitschke, who said, "God above us will see to it that war shall return again, a terrible medicine for mankind diseased." (What would the generals do without the help of the professors? We are fortunate to have as Chief of Staff a man who combines the qualities of both. Mac Arthur was once in charge of West Point.) Hear a later version of the inevitability of war: "The recent war has left the world under the domination of a few simple forces which are largely international in their nature and in their operation: Theocracy, proletarchy, diplomacy, capitalism, the internationale of gold, the League of Nations. The present tragedy of the world lies not in these forces, which are pacific enough in themselves, but in the character with which man has invested them. No institutional alibi can explain their failure to prevent war. Man has seen to it that his noblest aspirations are tainted and the highest functions of which he is capable are negatived by his own animal impulses. For man, that mysterious bundle of brains and brawn, of ideals and illusions, of reasons and passions, cannot touch anything that he does not reduce to his own character, cannot create anything that does not bear his image and superscription. Ridden and consumed by forces which originate in his heart and which he can no longer control from the limited precincts of his present national status, man finds himself in a world that shrinks and changes daily under the magic of his science.

"He finds air, land and water at his disposal and converts them to the use of war. He finds continents, islands and rivers; forests, food and minerals; power in water, oil and coal; and he fights for them and he makes them fight for him.

"Every peace-time industrial process is potential armament—every census report on mining, manufacture, or transport is a military document. Every crop report can be read as a message from the front. Not all the treaties and conferences from now until kingdom come can disarm a nation that gets angry.

"The answer to the bitter question, 'Why war?' is the still more bitter reply, 'Man.' Until man has mastered himself, the world is no closer to its desire to escape from its destiny of suffering and hatred, bloodshed and violence. The heart of man begat the Roman law and the Roman legion, the Christian ethic and the Spanish Inquisition, the instrument of commercial credit and the practice of commercial war. Men have fathered the theory of liberty, equality and fraternity, the guillotine and the Cheka. Man has created the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel and mustard gas. For everything begotten of men shares in the nature of man and is as apt to destruction as to construction. . . . The world will find peace when man is extinct.

"Let us be prepared lest we perish," concludes Mac Arthur.

Said Bernhardi, "We must prepare."

Said the Kaiser, "My confidence rests upon the army."

TWENTY months later, when the sobering responsibilities of high office had fallen upon his shoulders, Mac Arthur, under appointment as Chief of Staff, turned preacher and with sardonic eloquence delivered the following surprising homily to those who assembled to do him honor at a farewell banquet in Manila. It sounds very much like Kaiser Wilhelm in one of his religious moments. "In the routine humdrum of our

lives we should be careful not to forget that there is beauty in nature everywhere; that there is a God whom we all worship and adore. . . . The stars that shed their effulgence on Dante Alighieri, writing under Tuscan skies, still brighten our path in the nights of the present age. The silver beams of the moon that illumined the heavens under which Pierre Curie and his gifted wife labored in their momentous discovery of radium, are the same beams that cast their haunting light on us in our never-ending struggle for the attainment of happiness. . . .

"The Asiatic Continent is at present undergoing an adjustment of its Oriental background to an Occidental point of view. How this problem can be solved I cannot give you any norm for specific action; but I can offer you broad principles of conduct which may help you in its solution.

"The first is tolerance. History teaches us that, when two races are brought by the workings of an inscrutable Providence to live together, tolerance . . . is the inescapable necessity."

General Mac Arthur then exhorted his hearers to maintain "Balance" in all things, to use "the intellec that should govern, rather than emotion," and to hav courage. He cited Socrates, Galileo, and Christ (non of them military men) as examples of the highest typ of courage, and ended the sermon with a brace of quo tations: "It is courage that will make us seek wha Kipling said is the Way, and the Truth, and the Ligh And as Lloyd George very well said, 'You must go on or you will go under.' "

By way of conclusion, let us quote from the forewor of the pamphlet *Conquest and Kultur*: "It is a motle throng who are here heard in praise of war and inter national suspicion and conquest and intrigue and devas tation. . . . Line upon line, precept upon precept, the have written this ritual of envy and broken faith and rapine. Before them is the war god to whom they hav offered up their reason and their humanity, behind them the misshapen image they have made of the Ger man people, leering with blood-stained visage over th ruins of civilization."

Shall they also lead the American people to a simila fate?

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 2, 1931.

Mr. Kirby Page, Editor
The World Tomorrow,
52 Vanderbilt Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Page:

Thank you for your courtesy in sending me the galley proofs of Mr. Fey's article.

Practically everything attributed to me in the article is incorrect. The quotations assumed to be from an address of mine at Manila were extracts from a book under discussion at one of the weekly meetings of the Rotary Club in Manila. During that meeting I verbally reviewed the book in question. The second speech which is attributed to me in your article is completely false. The remarks therein were not made by me and are not representative either of my thought or of my belief. Your correspondent has apparently built up a very interesting analogy between General von Bernhardi and myself. It, however, has two fatal points of weakness; one that it attributes to me remarks which I neither made nor concur in, and the other, that I am in marked opposition with the position of General von Bernhardi on almost all questions not only of national policies but of military tactics.

It was a good story if it had only been true, and I am sorry to have to spoil it.

With renewed appreciation for your courtesy in the matter, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Douglas MacArthur

Mr. Fey's Supporting Evidence

Union Theological Seminary
419 Pennsylvania Ave.
Manila, P. I.

May 8, 1931

To the Editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW:

The enclosed materials are submitted in proof of the following propositions:

1. That the quotations from the first address of General Douglas Mac Arthur quoted in my article, "Has Bernhardi Become Chief of Staff?" are exactly as they appeared in both the *Tribune* and the *Manila Daily Bulletin* of January 11, 1929.
2. That the two newspaper quotations from the address were identical in every respect because the address was prepared in duplicate and handed in written form to the newspapers by a person representing General Mac Arthur.
3. That there was no suggestion by General Mac Arthur during the course of the address in question or before or after the address by any other person, that the statements therein made were "extracts from a book under discussion."
4. That neither the people who heard the address, nor the two daily newspapers which reported it, nor the editor of the *Philippine Observer* who commented editorially on it, nor the secretary of the Rotary Club who took the minutes of the meeting, understood it to be "a review of the book in question" or of any other book.
5. That it was generally regarded as the presentation of the General's own views on the subject of the philosophy of history underlying "preparedness."
6. That General Mac Arthur did not subsequently publicly repudiate or in any way criticize the accounts of the address as they appeared in the two daily papers above referred to, until he did so in his letter of April 2, 1931, to Mr. Kirby Page.
7. That the quotations from the second address of General Mac Arthur as they appeared in my article are exactly as they appeared in the *Tribune* of September 19, 1930, and substantially as they appeared in the *Bulletin* of the same date.

In view of these facts, supported as they are by documentary evidence in the form of (a) certified clippings from both the *Tribune* and the *Manila Daily Bulletin* covering both addresses, (b) the letter of Editor Carlos P. Romulo of the *Tribune* relating the manner in which copy for the addresses reached his paper, (c) a copy of the editorial appearing in the *Philippine Observer* for February 1929, (d) a statement and an affidavit of individuals present as to the nature of the address, and (e) a certified copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Manila Rotary Club on January 10, 1929, certain conclusions are unavoidable:

1. That General Mac Arthur's statements in his letter of April 2, 1931 to Mr. Page—"The quotations assumed to be from an address of mine were extracts from a book under discussion at one of the weekly meetings of the Rotary Club in Manila. During that meeting I verbally reviewed the book in question"—are either false or else the General is guilty of taking extracts from a book without giving due credit to the author.
2. That General Mac Arthur's statement in the same letter—"The second speech which is attributed to me in your article is completely false"—is untrue. It is true that the two newspapers which reported his remarks on this occasion differ in the details of wording, but the main thesis and the four main points of the address are the same in both the *Manila Daily Bulletin* and the *Tribune*. It therefore stands to reason that my quotations from the *Tribune* cannot all be "completely false." This seems particularly improbable in view of the fact that the reporter for the *Tribune* on this occasion was Editor Carlos P. Romulo, one of the most widely known newspaper men in the Philippines and a personal friend of General Mac Arthur.
3. That General Mac Arthur's statement—"The remarks therein [the second speech] were not made by me and are not representative either of my thought or of my belief"—places him in a position of considerable disadvantage in view of his office as Chief of Staff of the United States Army. The purpose enunciated in the address was to "offer broad principles of conduct" which would assist those present to solve the problem of adjusting the Oriental background of the Asiatic continent to an Occidental point of view. The principles offered were "tolerance", "balance", "intelligence", and "courage". General Mac Arthur now repudiates this purpose and denies that these four broad principles of conduct are representative either of his thought or of his belief. I submit that this statement is further proof of the authenticity of

the quotations from the first address. The Bernhardian type of militarism therein enunciated would be perfectly consistent in saying that tolerance, balance and intelligence, at least "are not representative either of my thought or of my belief." As for courage, it must be conceded that if Bernhardi had courage when he goaded Germany into her share of the communal suicide of the World War, how much more courage must Mac Arthur have in urging civilized people in this day to follow the military philosophy.

Respectfully yours,

(*signed*) HAROLD E. FEY

Further Reflections of the Military Mind

Major General Douglas Mac Arthur, now Chief of Staff, U.S.A.

A warlike spirit, which alone can create and civilize a state, is absolutely essential to national defense and to national perpetuity . . . the more warlike the spirit of the people, the less need for a large standing army, as in such a community every able-bodied man should be willing to fight on all occasions whenever the nation demands his services in the field. In a free country like our own where everything depends upon the individual action of the citizen, every male brought into existence should be taught from infancy that the military service of the Republic carries with it honor and distinction, and his very life should be permeated with the ideal that even death itself may become a boon when a man dies that a a nation may live and fulfill its destiny.—*Infantry Journal, March, 1927, pp. 328, 329.*

Lieutenant Colonel Lee Alexander Stone, Military Intelligence, O.R.C., U.S.A.

Pacifists and other radicals emulating the crime of Judas Iscariot are seeking to throw to the four winds the joy freedom brings. Pacifism and cowardice are synonymous terms, therefore one readily can believe that the seed from which a pacifist was conceived was originally yellow in color, for certainly the pacifist is yellow all through in his attitude toward society. . . . Pacifists approve the signing of the slacker's oath, the rape of religion, the subsidizing of the press, and the defeat of the Constitution of the United States. They approve any method that would destroy the Stars and Stripes and put the Red Flag at the head of the mast.—*The Needs of a Nation, pp. 11, 12.*

Major General Amos Alfred Fries, Retired; formerly Chief of Chemical Warfare Service, United States Army; President, National Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

There is an old adage that "Self-preservation is the first law of nature." We see it in every living thing throughout the animal, fish, fowl and insect worlds. There are always two classes, those who seek self-preservation in flight or hiding, and others that fight. . . . From the very beginning, those men, those tribes, if you please, that fought hardest, survived. Those that fought hardest had peace and prosperity with least disturbance. Whenever, however, through laziness, excess wealth, dissipation, or plain cowardice, they no longer were able or willing to fight, the nations started to decline and eventually disappeared from the face of the earth. . . .

There is an organized movement on foot, well financed, ably led, to disarm our nation, and make it impossible for the nation to defend itself against a foreign enemy or against civil war. The organization is small in numbers, so small in fact that reckoned by numbers alone, their efforts would fall into insignificance; but history's pages are dotted over with national catastrophies, with the disappearance, even, of nations from the face of the earth, through the work of an organized, active, armed minority, against an unorganized, inactive and untrained, great majority. . . .

In this country there are two groups, presumably as opposite as the poles, who are crying to destroy all military power, and military training in our nation. These groups are of certain church people on one hand, and the communists on the other. The followers of Christ working to the same end as the atheistic communists. . . . The churches are organized to teach the word of God, while the communists are atheists. Schools and colleges in America, were originally founded to teach the art of reading, that each man might study the word of God for himself. And yet, both church and school today are fast becoming the hope and the stronghold of atheistic communism. It is among your churchmen today that the vigorous Christ is painted as a slacker. . . .

An important part of this movement to disarm the nation is another double-headed movement of trying first to persuade the American youth and American preachers to take an obligation that they will not support any war, and second, the attempt of this same church crowd, together with radical and communist organizations, to force the Government to admit to citizenship, when such aliens state that they would not fight even if necessary to save the Union. A refusal to fight is always treason among soldiers in war—it should be treason at any time, at any place, where the safety of the nation is involved. No alien applying for citizenship should be considered for an instant if he states that he is unwilling to fight in case of necessity to save the nation. I would go much further, and I urge that all patriotic people adopt the principle, that any American citizen, native born or naturalized who takes an obligation that he will not fight or support any war, or who joins an organization that has among its principles the statement that its members will not fight in case of necessity to save the country, that those citizens have their citizenship taken away from them. Morally and legally no man who will not defend his nation unto death can be a real citizen. He, who refuses to fight when necessary, states in other language that he will hide in safety while others die that he may continue to enjoy the privileges those who died fought to preserve.—*Memorial Day Address, published in The Times, State College, Pennsylvania, June 5, 1931.*

The Army and Navy Journal.

We hope the President's leadership will not involve our national defense in further concessions damaging to our ability to protect our interests at home and abroad. Deeply committed as he is to

he success of the conference, he may deem it necessary to accept proposals or compromises injurious to our strength. It is a possibility which gives concern to Americans who are believers in the Roosevelt maxim: "Speak softly and carry a big stick."—*Editorial, July 11, 1931.*

Sir Arthur Keith, Rector of Aberdeen University, Scotland.

If this scheme of universal de-racialisation ever comes before you as a matter of practical politics, as the sole way of establishing peace and good will in all parts of our world, I feel certain both head and heart will rise against it. There will well up within you an overmastering antipathy to securing peace at such a price. This antipathy on race prejudice Nature has implanted within you for her own ends—the improvement of mankind through racial differentiation. Race prejudice, I believe, works for the ultimate good of mankind, and must be given a recognised place in all our efforts to obtain natural justice for the world. . . . It means a continuation of Nature's old scheme of intertribal rivalries and eternal competition. Without competition mankind can never progress; the price of progress is competition. Nay, race prejudice, and, what is the same thing, national antagonism, has to be purchased, not with gold, but with life. . . . Nature keeps her human orchard healthy by pruning; war is her pruning-hook. We cannot dispense with her services. This harsh and repugnant forecast of man's future is wrung from me.—*The Sunday Times, (London), June 7, 1931.*

Lieutenant Colonel Orvel Johnson, Executive Secretary, R.O.T.C. Association of the U.S.A.

Regrettable as the fact is, sound statesmanship requires that we as a nation should expect and prepare for war, for, until the hearts of men are very much changed for the better, defensive warfare is unavoidable, therefore, the Congress should face its duty squarely and give to the United States the protection provided by our military policy and not permit the people of the country to be lulled into a false sense of security.—*An address before the Chaplains' Association of the Army of the United States, in Washington, D. C., April 15, 1931.*

The Bloody International

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Paris, Jan. 23, 1868.

SIR:

Encouraged by the great distinction which your majesty has graciously shown me at the World Exposition of 1867, I humbly beg Your Majesty to receive the enclosed report of a series of firing tests which have just taken place at my workshops in Essen under the direction of Major General Majewsky by order of the Emperor of Russia and of others. . . .

I venture to hope that these tests will interest Your Majesty. Your Majesty has given such convincing evidence of Your great knowledge of artillery matters that I venture to submit these tests, the equal of which have never been made and which will revolutionize artillery. . . .

With deepest respect and highest admiration, I am

Your Majesty's most humble servant,

Henri Haas,

Chief of the House of Krupp.

THIS astonishing letter was addressed to the French Emperor, Napoleon III, by the head of the largest German armament factory, the House of Krupp. It was written two years before the Franco-Prussian War, when relations between the two countries were strained. Yet Krupp, who considered himself a good German, was ready and eager to make available to the French the latest triumphs in German cannon making.

In the case of Napoleon III, Krupp's heavy handed flattery was wasted. Napoleon did not buy, and in the war that opened two years later, Krupp's guns were used only by the Germans. Previously in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 he had been more fortunate, for both sides were equipped by Krupp factories. In April, 1866, the Prussian Minister of War, wrote to Krupp asking him if he would be willing "out of patriotic regard to the present political conditions, to undertake not to supply any guns to Austria" Krupp demurred; he did not like the idea of a "breach of contract," and virtually suggested that the government stop his shipments rather than that he cancel the order. Austria, however, had already received guns from Krupp, so that when the Prussians marched against the Austrians in 1866 they were fired on with cannons which had been manufactured in German factories by German workmen.

Alfred Krupp, the real founder of the House of Krupp, was a friend of Bismarck and of the old Kaiser. He was also a member of the French Legion of Honor. Early in his career he had found Prussia a rather negligent customer and since business was better with other countries, he declared that he would fill all orders, anywhere in the world. For a time Belgium and England were his best customers. Yet Krupp frequently proclaimed his patriotism, especially when he sought orders from the German government.

In 1902 the pecular nature of his patriotism was revealed. When the Germans began to build their fleet in 1898, it was Krupp who furnished the armor plate, which he sold to the Government at 2,300 M. per ton, while in other countries armor plates made from the Krupp patents and therefore paying him a royalty sold for 1,900 M. per ton.

Krupp statistics on international trade are particularly significant. Up to 1911 Krupp had manufactured 53,000 cannons. Of these, 26,000 remained in Germany, while 27,000 were sold abroad to 52 different countries.

THE story of Krupp serves as a fitting introduction to the Bloody International: the armament and munitions makers. These dealers in death have succeeded in surrounding themselves and their business with a kind of halo. It was honorable, to be sure, to be a farmer, "the backbone of the nation," or a laborer, or a member of a profession. But what would all these helpless people do without the armament maker? Each country was always surrounded by treacherous enemies ready to kill, maim, ravage, destroy. The majority of the citizens were, no doubt, willing "to defend their country in a time of national emergency," but their willingness would be futile without the beneficent aid of the armament maker. The latter always prepared for the storm before the clouds gathered. He had enormous factories for making armor plates for battleships, for manufacturing rifles and cannons, cartridges and torpedoes, machine guns and tanks. His experts were constantly developing new means of defense and offense, until the primitive weapons of the Napoleonic wars gave way to the scientific methods of the World War.

PATRIOTISM for patriotism's sake is no go. These "patriotic" ship-builders and armament makers expect a grateful country to repay them amply for their services. More than that, armament makers have been and generally are international traders. Since every country is a potential enemy, armament makers are generally just as active in supplying war materials to the enemy as to their own nation, and the soldiers of a warring country are not infrequently met by an enemy equipped for battle by their own countrymen.

The pre-war period furnishes ample documentation for this indictment. The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy had existed since 1882. The Dual Alliance between France and Russia of 1894 gradually grew into the Triple Entente, with England as the third partner. The first Morocco Crisis of 1905 revealed that the lines were already rather firmly drawn. But apparently the armament makers had never heard of this political line-up. The Nobel Dynamite Trust of London, for instance, had its units or was affiliated with companies in Germany, Japan, Russia, Spain, and France. In order words, this company crossed and recrossed the line of international alliances without the least concern.

In 1905, after the disaster of the Japanese war, the Russian government was determined to restore and modernize its armaments on land and sea as quickly as possible. There was an almost indecent scramble by armament makers of all great countries to share in the contracts. The result was that the Russian navy was rebuilt, and munitions works were established or remodeled in St. Petersburg and in Tsaritsin (Stalingrad) by British, French, German, Austrian, and Belgian armament makers.

A fairly stable element in European politics was the hostility between Germany and France. But the armament makers paid no attention to seemingly obvious facts. The Dillingen Company in Germany, a large arms factory, was partly owned by French capitalists, some of its business meetings were held in France, and on its board of directors sat two Frenchmen, a former legation secretary, and a lieutenant of the reserve.

IT is the "workers of the world" who are reputed to have no fatherland and nothing to lose but their chains. For this they have been wildly denounced and not infrequently excluded from citizenship. Somehow we seem to have overlooked the fact that even more "homeless" are the armament makers who have nothing to lose but their business. Witness the situation in England before 1914.

The Vickers Company was the English Krupp. Besides its English works, it had a yard in Spain, another in Italy, another in South America, two in Russia, and two in Canada. The international trade of Vickers was even greater than that of Krupp. Why, for instance, was the Boer War such a test of British strength, when there were but a handful of Boers against the hundreds of thousands mustered in by the British? The answer is simple: Vickers had supplied the Boers with machine guns which increased the defensive power of the embattled farmers a hundredfold. When the war broke out, Vickers likewise hastened to equip the British army with all that it needed. Whether this was patriotic or not may well be left to the experts on patriotism. Certainly it was good business!

Officially, Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance and though she was known to "enjoy an extra dance" with the members of the Triple Entente, there were occasions when her adherence to her first love was unmistakable. As time went on, the navy man of England and France came to an agreement on a plan of naval warfare in the Mediterranean which was aimed at the fleets of Austria and Italy. Did Vickers note what the Foreign Office or the Admiralty was doing? No, for Vickers-Terni had been organized with British and Italian capital in Italy, and this company built the modern Italian fleet. Says the *Navy League Annual* for 1911:

> The modern naval resources of Italy for the building of warships owe their origin in no small measure to the coöperation of British capital and resources.

WITH this background in mind, an interesting chapter on the patriotism of the "patriots" is revealed by the World War. It is obvious that armament makers on both sides had been extremely obliging and helpful in preparing the enemy for war. Direct evidence on the use of British or German arms by the enemy during the war is difficult to obtain, but there is some significant material.

England will not readily forget the disastrous Dardenelles campaign. The abandonment of this project was one of the most serious blows to British prestige. Yet the British arms manufacturers were directly instrumental in this loss, for some of their battleships were sunk by mines of English manufacture. The matter is discussed in *Parliamentary Debates* under date of August 2, 1926. M. P. Jones is questioning Chamberlain in regard to a report in a London paper that a Birmingham firm, with the mediation of the British government, had contracted to supply 100,000 rifles and 100,000,000 rounds of ammunition to the Turkish government. Chamberlain replied that there was no international obligation to prevent British firms from supplying armaments to other governments, and while such firms had to get the permission of the Foreign Sceretary, "that permission ought not to be capriciously withheld."

Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy: "Is the right honorable Gentleman not aware that British men-of-war were sunk in the Dardanelles by mines supplied by British firms, and is he prepared to see a repetition of that?"

Chamberlain: "I am not contemplating a new war with Turkey. . . ."

T. Williams: "Is it not a fact that there is in Bedford Park a large gun captured from Germany which was made in Great Britain to kill British people?"

Mr. Speaker: "That question is irrelevant."

Perhaps Mr. Speaker was right from the standpoint of parliamentary rules, but from another point of view the matter is far from irrelevant, particularly since the charge is substantiated by Arthur Ponsonby in a recent volume.

In a defense of the airmen during the war, *Airman or Noahs,* the British Rear Admiral Murray F. Sueter divulges other pertinent facts. Before the war Germany had been particularly successful in constructing dirigibles and airships ranging from the smaller Parseval types to the Zeppelins. The other nations recognized the value of these craft, and England, Japan, and Russia placed orders which were promptly filled. The English order was sent to the German company in Bitterfeldt in 1913. From this model the British developed their own small airships, a type of craft which proved particularly useful against submarines. Accompanying ships as convoys, these English Parsevals readily sighted the hiding submarines and then summoned the patrol.

ALL these incidents record the activities of the armament makers before the war. One would surmise that their "patriotism" would come valiantly to the fore during the war. Wrong again. Business remained business even during wartime. For example, the various nations soon learned the importance of fat, because glycerine, so vital in the manufacture of explosives, was obtained from it. In the British army, for instance, all scraps of meat were carefully collected and whatever fat remained was used for glycerine. The need for fats produced one of the astonishing stories of German atrocities—since exploded—that the Germans derived some of their glycerine from the dead bodies of their soldiers. In order to secure the necessary fats and oils, Germany placed huge orders for vegetable oils, fats, and oil-cake in Denmark. The Danes forwarded the orders to the British possessions in the Far East, where they were filled with the aid of British coal. For three years this trade went on undisturbed and Germany was well equipped with explosives. More direct aid was given by the shipment of copper from England to Sweden, where it was immediately trans-shipped to Germany. It was, of course, all a very profitable business.

The counterpart of this British "patriotism" was revealed by a German, Arthur Saternus, in *Die Schwerindustrie in und nach dem Kriege.* For a long period during the war the Germans exported an average of 150,000 tons of iron and steel to Switzerland. In some months a peak of 250,000 tons was reached. It went in the form of scrap iron and manufactured products such as railroad tracks. Switzerland was pledged against the re-export of war material; but smuggling was widespread, and much of this German iron and steel undoubtedly reached France and her Allies.

THE "patriotism" of another German armament maker deserves chronicling. Senator Possehl of Luebeck was a "steel king" whose possessions lay in Sweden, Norway, and Russia. His chief works were in Fagersta, Sweden. Possehl made a great display of his patriotism. He was proud of the German "boys" and rarely missed an opportunity to see them off at the railroad station when they left for the front. His Russian works naturally placed him in somewhat of a dilemma, but he solved the problem by declaring for "business as usual." That is, his Swedish factories supplied raw material to his Russian factories where it was used for the Russian prosecution of the war. The German military authorities charged Possehl with treason. He was tried, but the courts accepted his contention that he had merely forestalled the confiscation of his Russian properties by the Russian government. Even the Kaiser rejoiced at this verdict. Not versed in the niceties of "patriotic" ethics, one can understand the man on the street and the German soldier who

wondered why the products of Fagersta might not have been diverted to the Fatherland, or why a loyal German would not prefer to lose his properties rather than supply the enemy.

THUS far the story is satisfactorily documented. There are many other incidents for which there are no documents. Their sensational character may warrant mention here with the warning that they are as yet unsubstantiated. On the German side, it is charged that the firing-director used by the British fleet in the Battle of Jutland came from the German Zeiss factories a few months before the battle by way of Holland; that the barbed wire which blocked the German advance at Verdun was manufactured in a German factory at Magdeburg. On the French side there is the persistent rumor that throughout the war the Lyons silk industry furnished silk for German airships. On the Italian side we have the story that Italy supplied sulphur to Germany throughout the war. Perhaps the truth of these stories will eventually be established.

If there must be a moral to this tale of bloody greed, it is the obvious one that if war cannot be abolished, international trade in armaments ought to be forbidden, and that all governments ought themselves to manufacture whatever is needed for this nefarious business. What has been said refers largely to the war and the pre-war period. But the nefarious system continues, perhaps in even more widespread fashion. Chamberlain's admission in 1926 puts the British on record for "business as usual" in the arms industry. Senator Burton K. Wheeler's bill, which seeks to recall our country's military and naval missions from Latin America, calls attention to the increasing armament of those nations supplied by the factories of the United States. The great cry today is that war must go. An important step in that direction would be the abolition of the international trade in armaments—the Bloody International.

The Hope of the World in Its Minorities

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

THE creative ideas destined to remake society have always been the possession of the minority. History has depended, not on the ninety-eight per cent, but on the two per cent. Far from being a matter of sociological and political interest alone, this principle gave Christianity its start. When the Master in Palestine began calling out his first disciples from the mass of their countrymen, he was interested not in quantity but in quality—in seed, though but a few kernels, which if carefully sown might multiply itself. He was thinking not primarily of the ninety-eight per cent but of a germinal two per cent. . . . The majority is almost certain to be wrong on any matter of fine taste or sound judgment, and, whether or not the majority is right, it certainly does not rule. The dominant influence in every situation is a militant minority. The decision of public policy in this country now is determined largely by resolute, militant, compact, closely organized minorities that want something and get it. . . .

Bigness is not power. Power is in the ideas to which the future belongs, and they always have been the possession, not of the ninety-eight per cent, but of the two per cent. . . . Wherever a true idea is born and a creative minority rallies around it, there is the beginning of victory. That is encouraging and it is true. It is not, however, a truth to go to sleep on. We Christians were intended to be that minority. We were to be the salt of the earth, said Jesus. We were to be the light of the world. We were to be the leaven in the lump of the race. There is no possibility of misunderstanding his meaning, my friends. When a man becomes a real Christian he is supposed to move over into that small, creative sacrificial minority seized upon by visions of a better world and standing for them until they shall permeate mankind with their truth. That does make being a Christian serious business! . . .

There was a time, however, when Christianity was very powerful. Little groups of men and women were scattered through the Roman Empire, "not many mighty," said Paul, "not many noble." They were far less than two per cent, and the heel of persecution was often on them, but they flamed with a conviction that they represented truths to which the future belonged. . . .

In those days Christianity was very powerful. It stopped ancient curses like infanticide. It put an end to the bloody shambles of the gladiatorial shows. It laid hold on an old polytheism that had been glorified in literature, extolled in art, established in custom, and supported by government, and ended it in the interests of one God revealed in Christ. Then Christianity was very powerful. It was a minority movement with nothing to lose, with everything to gain, joining which a man pledged his very life as a forfeit. At last it became so powerful that it captured the Empire, entrenched itself in wealth and worldly prestige, stopped challenging the world, began compromising with the world, went on to defend the *status quo* of the world, and never again, I fear, on so vast a scale has exhibited such creative, superhuman power.

Let us, therefore, this morning, for our own sakes and for the sake of our generation, see if we can recover even a little the meaning of that saying of Jesus, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened." . . .

As for being Christian, I suppose that reduced to simplest terms it means answering Christ's two-worded appeal, "Follow me." Where do we think it takes a man when he does follow him? Never into a majority. I wonder where you and I are this morning—three measures of meal or leaven?—*From a sermon preached on May 3, 1931.*

Conscience Versus the State

To the President and Congress of the United States:

The recent decision of the Supreme Court, which denies the right of citizenship to persons who refuse to abdicate their conscience on the question of participation in armed conflict, forces us, the undersigned citizens, to notify the constituted authorities of our nation that we share the convictions of those who have been denied citizenship.

Some of the undersigned find it impossible, because of religious and moral scruples, to render any kind of combatant service in time of war. Others share the conviction of one of the persons denied citizenship in the recent Supreme Court decision and cannot promise support to the Government until they have had the opportunity of weighing the moral issues involved in an international struggle.

We concur in the minority opinion of the Supreme Court that "in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would undoubtedly be made by many of our conscientious citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation."

W. S. Abernethy, *Minister, Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.*
Peter Ainslie, *Minister, Christian Temple, Baltimore.*
William F. Anderson, *Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston.*
Robert A. Ashworth, *Editor, The Baptist, Chicago.*
William H. Boddy, *Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Chicago.*
W. Russell Bowie, *Rector, Christ Church, New York City.*
Benjamin Brewster, *Bishop of Maine, Protestant Episcopal Church.*
Dan B. Brummitt, *Editor, Northwestern Christian Advocate, Chicago.*
Hugh L. Burleson, *Bishop of South Dakota, Protestant Episcopal Church.*
S. Parkes Cadman, *Radio Minister, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*
Samuel McCrea Cavert, *General Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*
Henry Sloane Coffin, *President, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.*
Abraham Cronbach, *Professor, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.*
A. C. Dieffenbach, *Editor, The Christian Register, Boston.*
Sherwood Eddy, *Publicist and Author, New York City.*
Fred B. Fisher, *Minister, Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Mich.*
Albert Parker Fitch, *Minister, Park Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City.*
Harry Emerson Fosdick, *Minister, Riverside Church, New York City.*
Charles W. Gilkey, *Dean of the Chapel, University of Chicago.*
William E. Gilroy, *Editor, The Congregationalist, Boston.*
L. O. Hartman, *Editor, Zion's Herald, Boston.*
Hubert C. Herring, *Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, New York City.*
John Haynes Holmes, *Minister, Community Church, New York City.*
S. Arthur Huston, *Bishop of Olympia, Protestant Episcopal Church, Seattle.*
Paul Hutchinson, *Managing Editor, The Christian Century, Chicago.*
Edward L. Israel, *Chairman, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Baltimore.*
Burris Jenkins, *Minister, Linwood Boulevard Christian Church, Kansas City.*
John Howland Lathrop, *Minister, Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, New York.*
Paul S. Leinbach, *Editor, The Reformed Church Messenger, Philadelphia.*
Halford E. Luccock, *Professor, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven.*
Louis L. Mann, *Rabbi, Sinai Temple, Chicago.*
Francis J. McConnell, *President, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*
Harold Marshall, *Manager, The Christian Leader, Boston.*
C. C. Morrison, *Editor, The Christian Century, Chicago.*
Mrs. Thomas Nicholson, *President, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Detroit.*
Reinhold Niebuhr, *Professor, Union Theological Seminary; Editor, The World Tomorrow, New York City.*
Kirby Page, *Editor, The World Tomorrow, New York City.*
Albert W. Palmer, *President, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago.*
Edward L. Parsons, *Bishop of California, Protestant Episcopal Church, San Francisco.*
Carl S. Patton, *Moderator, Congregational General Council, Los Angeles.*
William Scarlett, *Bishop Coadjutor of Missouri, Protestant Episcopal Church, St. Louis.*
Guy Emery Shipler, *Editor, The Churchman, New York City.*
Ralph W. Sockman, *Minister, Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City.*
Wilson R. Stearly, *Bishop of Newark, Protestant Episcopal Church.*
Ernest Fremont Tittle, *Minister, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Evanston, Ill.*
Luther A. Weigle, *Dean, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven.*
Stephen S. Wise, *Rabbi, Free Synagogue, New York City.*
Mary E. Woolley, *President, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.*

Blank for Additional Signature

Finding myself in agreement with the foregoing statement concerning a decision of the Supreme Court with regard to conscientious objectors to war, I desire to have my name added as a signatory.

Name ..... Position .....

Street Address ..... City and State .....

(Tear off and mail promptly to Mrs. Betty Parker Wilks, 347 Madison Avenue, Room 704, New York City.)

Not in the Headlines

Bury the Young Plan

The American Federation of Labor urges the reduction of war debts and reparation payments.

Negroes Not Wanted in Army

The War Department is steadily trimming down Negro regiments and in various ways reducing the number of Negroes in the army, reports the N. A. A. C. P.

British M. P. Appeal for Belgian

Sixty-one British Members of Parliament have signed an appeal to the Belgian War Minister on behalf of a Belgian conscientious objector who has been imprisoned because of refusal on religious grounds to serve with the colors.

Miners Postpone Own Pay

Seven hundred miners in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company have voluntarily offered to postpone receipt of half of their pay for three months in order to help their employers and union supporter, Miss Josephine Roche, meet the competition of price-cutting, non-union mines.

Taxation in Japan

So hard pressed is the government for funds that countless taxes are being imposed. The employment of a housemaid requires the payment of a tax. All receipts for purchases exceeding $5.00 are taxed. It is said that a baby carriage is the only vehicle in Japan that remains untaxed.

The Dismissal Wage

The National Industrial Conference Board reports that 53 companies in the Untied States have adopted the policy of paying dismissal wages when the discharge of workers is unavoidable. One large corporation, finding it necessary to close down two branch plants, provided for employees with a record of ten or more years' service by dismissal wages ranging from $104 to $2,088, the average being $500.

Deeper in the Mire of Debt

The intimate relationship among Germany's foreign trade, borrowing abroad, and reparation payments has been graphed by *Capper's Magazine* as follows:

Year	*Trade Balance*	*Net Borrowings Abroad*	*Reparation Payments*
1924	—1,800	1,600	300
1925	—2,500	3,000	1,000
1926	+ 800	100	1,200
1927	—3,000	4,400	1,600
1928	—1,300	3,400	2,000
1929	0	2,800	2,500
1930	+1,500	800	1,694
Total	—6,300	16,100	10,294

—Data from the New York Times

The Magic of a Name

Theodore Roosevelt is slated to be the next Governor-General of the Philippines, according to a report in the *Army and Navy Journal.*

Socialism in Action

Postal Savings System deposits reached a high record of 408 million dollars on September 1st, as contrasted with 176 millions in 1919, and 200 millions in November, 1930.

Quota Basis for Japan

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States recently passed a resolution urging that Japan and other Far Eastern countries be put on a quota basis of immigration along with various European nations.

Frozen Real Estate Values

Building bonds to the value of a billion and a half dollars have been defaulted, according to an estimate in the New York *Herald Tribune.* This amount constitutes nearly 40 per cent of the total value of outstanding building bonds.

Darrow Goes to Alabama

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has announced that Clarence Darrow will serve as its counsel in the defense of the eight Negro boys who have been sentenced to death in Scottsboro, Alabama. Mr. Darrow will deliver one of the arguments when the case is carried to the Alabama Supreme Court next January.

Peace by Caravan

The W. I. L. peace caravan in its march from California has met with an enthusiastic reception in the various cities along the way. Five governors and 40 mayors have signed the petition for complete disarmament. The caravan is due to reach Washington on Saturday, October 10th. After a parade, the signed petitions will be presented to President Hoover by Miss Addams and Mrs. Hull.

Extended Public Ownership

After thirty-eight years of satisfactory experience with a municipal electric plant, the city of Jamestown, New York, with a population of 45,155, has purchased a competing private plant and will now supply all electricity for the community. The new acquisition is to be paid for out of a surplus accumulated by the old plant and from current earnings, thus avoiding any additional taxation.

Attempted Intimidation

Three thousand white people gathered around the recently acquired home of Mr. A. A. Lee, Negro post office employee, in Minneapolis with the purpose of intimidating him into abandoning his new home. For several days it was necessary to station some 30 special police in the neighborhood. Prompt support by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People helped to turn the tide of public opinion.

Fire Drill for Pacifists

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS

ASK a French soldier, "What will you do if war is declared tomorrow?" and he will reply without hesitation: "Report to my superior officer at headquarters, where I will receive my equipment, and be assigned to a special train consisting of twenty-two cars containing fifty soldiers each. I shall follow my commanding officers through a practiced routine." He knows exactly, step by step, what he will do. The average citizen will tell you that he'll probably enlist or be drafted, and that's that. But what will the confirmed pacifist say? What plans has he in mind in the event of another war?

"I'll pack my belongings and take the first train out of Geneva," says one member of the secretariat. If I stay here I shall have to read the *Journal de Genève;* I shall have to hear those commanding brass bands, those inspiring speeches. I shall have to see girls kissing their soldiers goodby and glorying in their premeditated acts of violence. I shall have to see good men who refuse to be stampeded into the war spirit spat upon and ridiculed, lose their jobs, perhaps their lives. How long could I hold out? I don't know, but I won't take any chance. I know now that when the next war comes it will be as silly and wasteful and tragic as was the last, and that it will probably mark the end of everything fine in Western culture. That is so obvious that I have no desire to have any part in the bloody business or even to witness the ashes after it is over. I shall go to Tahiti. I practice going to Tahiti. I know exactly what trains will take me there, where I change for a boat, how much money I must have on hand, what I shall wear and take along. I am prepared for the next war, and only now give my life in a desperate hope that the League and other instruments of peace may prevent that next war from starting. But when it does, I shall know the leaders of the nations have gone stark mad, and without hesitation, I will go to Tahiti."

His point is important. Pacifists must have a form of fire-drill; they must prepare in peace time to take some definite action when war comes. This does not mean that they can escape the responsibility of active, militant, persistent efforts to maintain peace. It does mean that in addition to constructive peace agitation they must undergo a rigid self-discipline in war-resistance in order to be prepared should the crisis have to be met.

WHEN Christianity was a minority movement, the little bands of men and women who followed the faith practiced a technique to meet powerful temptations. They did not pack up and go to Tahiti when they heard the lions roar but they did have a plan and a disciplined spirit to carry it out. When jingoists of Rome bought their tickets to the arena performance, they knew that certain men who bore the mark of Christ would not fight.

While the air force practices its diabolical maneuvers over our cities, while the boys in the R.O.T.C. practice plunging bayonets into dummies, while the Secretary of War practices mobilizing seven million men and machines of industry, while the admirals practice sinking ships and attacking coast cities, what are the pacifists disciplining themselves to do? A peace-time pacifist will often declare, "I feel sure I wouldn't go to war now, but I can't be sure when an actual war is declared." What soldier would say, "I'm sure I could go over the top now, but if I were in an actual war it might be different"? A soldier is so trained by long practice that when the order is given he goes over the top unquestioningly, almost oblivious to the danger he faces. If governments and generals did not depend upon training to achieve this, war would be impossible and impractical.

IF the ten thousand ministers who have stated their uncompromising opposition to war, together with those other tens of thousands of citizens who are now convinced of the futility of war, wish to stand fast in the crisis, they must practice a definite plan of action and let it be known. Perhaps we ought to count the accommodations in our jails and prisons, and assign a place to every pacifist in advance. Why shouldn't pacifists practice each step of the way to the prison even to facing the firing squad? Why shouldn't they meet in churches to pray for courage, and to embolden each other? Why shouldn't they rehearse the military trials that will be carried on and practice their uncompromising answers to the absurd questions of the jingoists? Why shouldn't they capture that dynamic power of group solidarity for militant work on behalf of pacific means for solving international disputes? Why shouldn't governments know that pacifists are drilling to oppose war, so that the effect of this knowledge would be reflected at the Disarmament Conference?

So long as the peace movement contents itself with generalities and the signing of pledges, it will not be taken seriously. Governments are too well aware of the power of a few weeks of propaganda and a well drilled fighting force against such insipid declarations. But should the little group of two-per-cent-ers in whom Mr. Einstein places his faith set out to train themselves for specific resistance to war, what general or state would not respect and fear their power?

Radicalism and Religion

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

AMONG those whose chief concern is social change there is a very general conviction that religion is either incompatible with the radical temper or that it has at all events no resource for the creation of a new social outlook. The attitude of radicals toward religion ranges from the frantic hostility of the communists to an amused indifference on the part of the less dogmatic advocates of social and political change. Nor is this hostility or indifference without a large measure of justification. The organized institutions of religion manage pretty consistently to become so thoroughly identified with the social structure of any particular era that those who desire a radical change in political or economic philosophy are usually forced to destroy, or at least to oppose, the religious institutions. This was true in France of the eighteenth century and in Russia of the twentieth century. Even in Spain the pattern is not markedly different, for, although there are avowed Catholics in the republican ranks, the church has been one of the mainstays of the old order and the general sentiment of the republican movement is anti-clerical. In Mexico the facts have been equally obvious. If Protestants derive undue satisfaction from the fact that all these examples cited are in Catholic countries, it is only necessary to point out that, until a very recent past, a radical in Germany took the conservatism of the church for granted and invariably disavowed it when he became politically conscious. The Catholic church, in Germany at least, stands politically very much to the left of Protestantism.

In England the situation has been slightly different from the very beginning and the tension between religion and radicalism has been less acute. Keir Hardie once shocked an international congress of socialists by suggesting that his dreams of a new and better world were religiously inspired; and sentiment in the British Labour Party ranges all the way from marked hostility to religion to strong religious convictions on the part of such leaders as Arthur Henderson and George Lansbury. Nevertheless, the average British parson remains socially and politically about as conservative as a Russian priest.

IT would be easy to explain religious conservatism by observing that most institutions dissipate whatever radical tendencies inhere in their avowed religious convictions because of the necessity of maintaining their prestige and prerogatives in an essentially conservative world. Furthermore, it could be pointed out that any institution which manages to secure the allegiance of a majority of the population will inevitably suffer from the lack of imagination of the average man who is conservative because he does not have the historical perspective to emancipate him from the tyranny of the present moment and all contemporary circumstances. But such explanations are too simple. The fact is that there are conservative tendencies in the life of religion which are neither incidental to it nor common to all institutional life.

THERE is in all vital religion a drive toward the absolute—a devotion to an ideal or will which is but imperfectly realized on earth and which is therefore conceived as in some sense transcendent. This is the root of perfectionism in religion which historically has expressed itself most often in ascetic ventures of various kinds. In its purest form it creates standards for both personal and social life which convict all concrete and historical achievements of inadequacy. The self-control, the justice, or the love which human life achieves always falls short of the ideal conceived by the religious imagination and identified (quite rightly I think) with the will of God. This is the root of radicalism in religion, and it is also the root of conservatism. It is the former because it provides a standard in comparison with which man falls short and feels himself convicted of sin. Since nothing makes men more conservative than their moral conceit, anything which shakes their sense of virtue has a tendency to set their minds on something else than their miserable achievements.

Unfortunately, however, the average man tires of entertaining ideals which are at points of tension with his achievements, and he therefore finds ways and means of domesticating the absolute and identifying it with present realities. The will of God is not what he ought to do but what he has done. He invests the relativities of history with the sanction of the absolute. Institutions of religion have a habit of exploiting this particular tendency in religion. Thus the Pope in two recent encyclicals identified the institution of private property with the will of God on the one hand and, on the other, suggested that the peculiar type of male autocracy which still prevails in the families of most southern European countries is divinely ordained. The Puritans in the same way identified the prudential virtues, which were created in the middle classes by genteel poverty and the necessities of a rising commerce and industry, with a Biblical ethic, even though the characteristic feature of the ethic of Jesus is that ordinary prudence is anathema to it.

PROFESSOR SANTAYANA distinguishes between the instincts of piety and those of spirituality in religion and, without his authority, we might define the former as the tendency to identify the real and the ideal, and the latter as the tendency to criticize the real from the perspective of the ideal. Naturally it is easier to do the former than the latter, for which reason there is always more piety than spirituality in the life of religion. But the same institutions of religion which produce a superabundance of piety and sanctify the contemporary structure of society to such a degree that radicals who wish to change the structure are always under the necessity of defying God in the process, also invariably produce a minority group in whom the instincts of spirituality are predominant. Perhaps that is why the largest group of leading American radicals seem to have had their first inspiration from religion, even though their subsequent course carried them beyond the pale of the church. To judge from their lives, one might draw the conclusion that the best way to secure and preserve a radical temper is to begin with religion and then disavow it, or at least the institutional features of it—a course for which we have a classical example in Tolstoy. In the institutions of religion the priest is always victorious over the prophet in the immediate situation. Nevertheless, the prophet emerges and the priests and their devotees preen themselves with his feathers a century hence. Whether or not he decides or is forced to break with the institution itself depends upon the degree of conservatism which characterizes it at any given moment.

The critics of religion might contend against this interpretation that whatever radical temper religion encourages invariably expresses itself in personal rather than social terms. It produces puritanism or asceticism rather than a revolutionary temper. It criticises personal moral achievements from the perspective of the ideal but fails to maintain a critical attitude toward social realities.

THIS undoubted characteristic of the religious life leads us to consider another root of religious conservatism: its preoccupation with the motives of morality rather than its consequences. Constitutionally religion inclines the look at the world from the inside rather than the outside. It judges actions in terms of their springs rather than in terms of the fields into which the waters are sluiced. But good motive is not the guarantor of right action, and it becomes decreasingly so as human relations grow more complex. Only infrequently does religion permit itself to become the partner of social intelligence in determining conduct. The result is that it always produces a higher personal than social morality. For in certain intimate relations good motives may be applied automatically; but in complex relations good intentions, when not accompanied by the kind of intelligence which can analyze the situation in which the action takes place and gauge its effects, are of comparatively minor importance. At its best religion alone may produce a high degree of moral sensitivity which is fairly irrelevant to the problems of society (as in the case of the ascetic), and at its worst it may produce a type of moral conceit which hides a dominantly anti-social attitude toward society behind incidental virtues (as in the case of certain philanthropists).

The religious preoccupation with motive also leads very easily to a romantic confidence in the potentialities of ethical action for effecting social change. Even if pure ethical motive were much more general than it is, social change cannot be effected by ethical action alone. Unjust social relations are never ameliorated unless those who suffer from them have added the force of their discontent to whatever desire for change has been created by the ethical spirit in the community.

TO the general conservative tendencies inhering in religion as such one might add particular conservative characteristics of American Protestantism, when one reviews the scene in this country. It is an illusion of liberal Protestants that only fundamentalism is socially conservative, and that once religion has sloughed off the irrationalities and obscurantisms of the past, it becomes effective socially and morally.. As a matter of fact, fundamentalism exists for the most part in the backwaters of the provinces; in the cities religion is prevailingly liberal in theology and conservative in political and social theory. This conservatism is an economic phenomenon. Protestantism is, on the whole, middle-class and its liberal churches are usually higher middle-class. They therefore absorb the conservatism of the classes who reap the benefits from the present order of society and accordingly look upon our contemporary social structure as the best of all possible worlds.

But the conservatism of the liberal church is even more deeply rooted than the immediate economic interests of its constituency. It shares the nineteenth century's faith in automatic progress and its romantic conception of human nature. While the conservative church convicts its devotees of sins which are mainly irrelevant to the moral problems of modern society, the liberal church fails to create any sense of contrition. Instead it creates the illusion that we are all good people, spotless in our intentions, and that we are building a society which is growing daily, not to say hourly, more perfect. Its romanticism obscures the crisis in which modern society finds itself and the social evils from which it suffers. The average liberal preacher would be outraged to be placed in the same category as, let us say, a Russian priest; yet the same instincts of piety dominate the religious life of both. As the latter sanctified the atrocities of the pre-war Russian political system, so the modern liberal in religion creates opti-

mistic illusions about the moral character of our civilization and the people who manage it.

Liberal Judaism is in very much the same position as liberal Protestantism in this matter. Nor have the humanists who think they can remedy the moral defects of present-day religion by sloughing off theism revealed any striking radicalism. Those who are most vociferous in their anti-theism are characterised by a libertarian social philosophy which is as badly outmoded as that of evangelical liberalism. They count themselves radicals because they believe in freedom of speech. It would not be difficult to prove that the Anglo-Catholic movement in Britain (not the American counterpart which has aped its millinery without catching its social passion) has produced more genuine social radicalism than the whole humanist movement in this country. Humanism accentuates the limitations of church liberalism. Trusting in the same evolutionary optimism as the conservatives, and having an even more romantic conception of human nature, it therefore misses the sense of urgency which must be at the basis of all genuine radicalism. It lives uncritically in the middle-class world without recourse to any authority or perspective that might lift it out of contemporary prejudices. Whenever we find a complete confidence in intellectual capacity as the means of emancipation from social prejudices, we find also an easy rationalization of those prejudices.

Altogether, the liberal church, the humanist movement, and, one might add, the Ethical Culture movement are a little too proud of their intellectual attainments to be on guard against the inevitable tendency of the cultural life to become a rationalization of and a defense for the economic circumstances of the group which elaborates the culture. In that sense all of these groups would profit by a more Marxian interpretation of history. Their conservatism rather disproves the general assumption that religion becomes socially more effective as its distinctively religious qualities are reduced to a minimum. While nothing is more urgently needed in modern society than social intelligence, the intellectual attitude toward life has its own limitations which must be corrected by the religious temper. And here we come upon the resources for radicalism in religion.

AN intellectual attitude toward life produces either pure pessimism or pure optimism. Nothing that is worth doing can really be done if we view the matter only in terms of our reason. Our hopes are frequently ultra-rational; but they are not irrational because if they are held firmly enough they create their own verification. There is always an element of illusion about the vision of a new society. It will not be as perfect as those who give themselves to it with most devotion believe. Yet it will be a better society than if intellectuals with their belief in evolutionary progress or their sense of futility had their way.

Belief in the possibility of creating a new society implies faith in certain factors and forces which are not readily apparent in the contemporary situation. From the immediate perspective the prospect of radical change always seems hopeless to those who have a high ideal. To trust these hidden factors is to assume a religious attitude toward life whether it expresses itself in the Christian's or the Jewish prophet's vision of the kingdom of God, or in the Marxian hope of an equalitarian society, born miraculously out of the destruction of an unjust order.

THE Marxian theory is merely a mechanization of the older religious version and organically more closely related to it than most Marxists will admit. In numerous instances the connection can be traced historically. Middle-class religion, with its preoccupation with the fate of the individual soul, easily deflects the religious hope of another world; but, from the Jewish prophets to the latest dissenting sect, the disinherited have always expressed their religious hopes in terms of a better and more equitable social order. Sometimes religious institutions under the control of the middle-classes have made the other-worldly hope predominant even for the disinherited; but whereever the under-privileged express themselves in terms natural to their own emotions and needs, they have elaborately radical social hopes. And inevitably there is an apocalyptic element in such hopes. In that way both the evil of the present moment and the possibilities of a better day are recognized. Without this paradoxical attitude we either trust the evolutionary process to perfect our society, as do the more naive intellectuals, or we despair of any significant social change, as do the more sophisticated intellectuals.

There is greater similarity between the Marxian interpretation of history and the more naive of the religious interpretations than between either of these two and the evolutionary optimism adopted by middle-class intellectuals and religionists, or the sense of futility of the more advanced intellectuals. According to both the Marxian and the definitely religious interpretation, present realities are judged and found wanting from the perspective of a rigorous social and ethical ideal. In the case of pure Christianity, this ideal is the kingdom of love. In the case of the Marxian interpretation, it is an equalitarian society. The difference between these two ideals is not so much in their goals as in their methods, the latter being pacifistic on the one hand and militant on the other. In both cases devotion to an absolute ideal creates a critical attitude toward present realities, and sacrifice for the ideal produces the hope that it will be realized. The Marxian dialectic merely uses nineteenth century scientific jargon to express religious hopes. It is certainly not science. Nevertheless, it is a potent spring of social action. Pure Marxism, once it is qualified by less dogmatic historical

perspectives, tends to become evolutionary just as sophisticated Christianity trusts the evolutionary rather than the apocalyptic hope. That is as necessary as it is inevitable because most progress actually comes piecemeal, and development toward one supreme crisis is not the unfailing pattern of history. But it is as dangerous as it is inevitable because, once that fact is recognized, the combination of pessimism and optimism is easily destroyed, and the peculiar social vigor of this paradoxical outlook, together with its very real values, is dissipated.

ANOTHER obvious resource of religion for social radicalism is its estimate of human nature which is closely related to its view of history. It creates reverence for human personality without exalting human virtue. It regards men both as sinners and as children of God, thereby recognizing their limitations as well as their tremendous potentialities. Unless we have religious presuppositions, it is easy to become completely contemptuous about human nature, as so many intellectuals do. But the attitude which "believeth all things and hopeth all things" is essentially a religious one and a potent source of ethical action. Confidence in the latent possibilities of all mankind is the taproot of equalitarian social philosophy. Without it, aristocratic social outlooks, with their fatalistic conception of existing social ills and inequalities as justified by inequalities in native human endowments, are inevitable.

Religious radicalism without the influence of secular radicalism has a tendency to deteriorate into sentimentality. Its pacifism easily underestimates the brutal factors in history and lives under the illusion that social progress can be effected merely by a change of heart and an ethical conversion of those who appear recalcitrant. Secular radicalism, on the other hand, tends to underestimate the ethical factors in history and is in danger of reducing methods of social change to pure conflict, because the process is initiated on the assumption that only conflict can create change. It is driven to this assumption by its economic determinism which, though it may be an adequate explanation of most social behavior, does not do justice to the modicum of ethical integrity possible for the human spirit.

IN conclusion, it might be said that religion, whatever its resources for social action, will never live in perfect peace with radicalism because the latter's sole concern is the social and historical task, while religion is bound to interest itself in those needs and aspirations of the human spirit which transcend the social struggle and the historic situation. The human spirit does, after all, confront some problems which have nothing to do with the society in which it lives. The miseries men suffer from are increasingly those which they bring upon each other through their social relationships; that is one reason why religion, which has placed more emphasis upon man's cosmic than upon his social problem, is so badly adjusted to our own day. Nevertheless, the social problem can never be so all-absorbing, except for those who are in a desperate social situation or those naive souls who think that all human problems can be socially solved, but that the human spirit, abstracted from time and place and every peculiar circumstance, will not arise occasionally to view the total cosmic scene and meditate upon man's tragic eminence and impotence within that order.

Unemployment Insurance

TWENTY countries now have adopted systems of unemployment insurance covering more than 49 million wage earners. These systems may be grouped into two classes—compulsory plans and subsidized trade union and mutual benefit funds. The following table[1] indicates the number of workers insured in the various countries and the years in which the systems were inaugurated.

Compulsory Systems

Australia Queensland (1922)	137,000
Austria (1920)	1,300,000
Bulgaria (1926)	287,000
Germany (1927)	18,200,000
Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1911)	12,094,000
Irish Free State (1920)	284,000
Italy (1919)	2,600,000
Luxemburg (1921)	
Mexico (1929)	
Poland (1924)	1,033,000
Switzerland (7 Cantons)	113,000
U. S. S. R. (Soviet Russia) (1922)	10,000,000
Total insured	46,048,000

Subsidized Systems

Belgium (1920)	638,000
Czechoslovakia (1921)	1,300,000
Denmark (1921)	277,000
Finland (1917)	
France (1905)	165,000
Netherlands (1916)	391,000
Norway	36,000
Spain (1919)	
Switzerland (Cantons having systems of voluntary insurance)	117,000
Total insured	2,984,000

The total number covered by unemployment insurance under both the subsidized and compulsory systems in these countries thus approaches 50,000,000 wage earners.

[1] Figures are taken from the annual report of the director of the official International Labor Office, 1930, p. 223; and from "Unemployment Insurance in Foreign Countries" in the *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 1930. The number of insured workmen in Great Britain and Northern Ireland is taken from the Ministry of Labour *Gazette*, September, 1930.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Three Billions for Soldiers?

Two predictions are being made in Washington about the American Legion ten years hence: first, that it will dominate politically the legislative and probably the executive branches of our government; second, that thanks to this political power, the government will be appropriating three billion dollars a year to ex-soldiers. The problem no longer is what will the nation do with its returned soldiers, but what will the returned soldiers do with the nation.—*Marcus Duffield, in The Forum, May 1931.*

Dry Rot Versus Radicalism

I believe our colleges are in ten times more danger from professors who are afraid to tell the truth, from men who are too much afraid of their jobs to speak out about matters of public welfare, than they are from having professors go to the other extreme. Our colleges had better risk some radicalism than develop faculties noted for timidity and intellectual dry rot.—*Dr. Clarence Poe, a trustee of North Carolina State College of Agriculture in protest against the dismissal of Dr. Carl C. Taylor.*

Communist Tactics

If the Communists want these lads murdered, then their tactics of threatening judges and yelling for mass action on the part of white southern workers is calculated to insure this. And, on the other hand, lying and deliberate misrepresentation of friends who are fighting for the same ideals as the Communists, are old capitalistic, bourgeois weapons of which the Communists ought to be ashamed. . . . The ultimate object of the Communists, was naturally not merely nor chiefly to save the boys accused at Scottsboro; it was to make this case a center of agitation to expose the helpless condition of Negroes, and to prove that anything less than the radical Communist program could not emancipate them.—*W. E. B. DuBois, in The Crisis, September, 1931.*

Dividends Break Record

The depression of 1930 has been described by Sir Charles Addis, Vice Governor of the Bank for International Settlements, as the worst in one hundred years. Perhaps this is an exaggeration as far as the United States is concerned, but the depression will at least go down as among the most severe in our history. Nevertheless, the dividend disbursements of American corporations during 1930 set a new high record. According to the *Monthly Survey of Business,* they were $355,000,000 above 1929, which in turn was $1,150,000,000 above 1928. This represents an increase of 65 per cent in two years. How did the wage earners fare? The wage payments of manufacturing corporations in 1930, according to the estimates of the Federal Reserve Board, were $2,146,000,000 below 1929—a drop of about 19 per cent. This brought them below any year since 1922, although the dividend payments of the manufacturing companies in 1930 were more than *double* those of 1923.—*Sumner H. Slichter, The Atlantic Monthly, August, 1931.*

Fear Demoralizes

I believe that France would prefer to see any form of collapse in Germany—economic, financial, political, or all three—rather than to see Germany recover her health and prosperity while she holds to her present purpose to compel a revision of the Treaty of Versailles and to recover Eastern territories lost in the peace settlement, to escape from all reparations payments, and to acquire the right and resources to re-arm to a point of parity with France.—*Frank H. Simonds, in The Review of Reviews, August, 1931.*

As a Racketeer Sees It

Yes, we use force—what of it? Are we any worse than legitimate business? Don't big capitalists use force in putting down strikes? They stop at nothing. Of course, their force sometimes is legalized; sometimes their gunmen wear uniforms with shiny buttons on them. . . . For that matter, wouldn't you call Henry Ford a racketeer? Didn't he force his dealers all over the country a few years ago, to take a certain number of cars, more than they could handle; if they didn't take them and send him the money, they lost their agencies. What do you call *that?*—Louis *Adamic, Dynamite, p. 370.*

How Does He Do It?

To give an idea of the pressure at which he [Gandhi] has worked, it would be sufficient to mention the fact that even on silent Monday when he manages to steal some snatches of sleep out of hours of writing work, he could get no rest or sleep, having to listen to numerous interviewers whom he could not possibly turn away, and when he broke his silence at 8 P.M. public engagements and an important interview with Sjt. Subhaschandra Bose kept him busy until 2:30 A.M. the next morning. After about an hour's sleep he was out of bed again for the morning prayer, having thus kept awake 23 out of the 24 hours of that day! Interviews began again soon after the prayer and the day full of numerous taxing conversations and meetings ended with an interview at midnight. After three and a half hours' sleep, he was again on his legs for the next day's programme, which one would have thought would end at 1:30 P.M. when he entrained the Frontier Mail at Andheri. But that was not to be. Interviews had been promised and had to be fulfilled with the result that practically no rest could be had right up to 10 o'clock. Could he then have rest? How could he with *avajivan* hovering over his head, articles for which must be posted the next morning? As though this torture was not enough, crowds at stations shouting, at all hours of day and night, to the top of their voice, cries which do no good to them and positively get on his nerves, must disturb what little rest he can manage to get on the train. We have been doing this for the last ten years in the teeth of Gandhiji's repeated protests.—*M. D., in Young India, May 26, 1931.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

An Utterly Unnecessary War

The Martial Spirit. By Walter Millis. Houghton Mifflin Co. $4.00.

THIS study of our war with Spain is sensational reading. It reveals with incontestable documentary evidence that Spain was prepared to grant all our essential demands and that war was wholly unnecessary. From Madrid our Minister Woodford cabled: "I think that I have now secured the practical adjustment of every important matter that has been committed to me up to date." After an exhaustive study of the evidence, Mr. Millis writes: "The purely diplomatic questions had all been settled. . . . Spain was at last ready to meet every demand which we had made or could properly make without an outright seizure of the island, but her offer was rejected . . . a cause for war no longer existed."

It was the sinking of the *Maine* that precipitated the outbreak of war. But that tragedy would have been insufficient by itself to set armed forces in motion. No evidence has ever been produced that the Spanish Government was in any way implicated in the destruction of the *Maine*. It was the spirit of jingoism and imperialism that rushed us into an ignoble conflict. The notorious part played by William Randolph Hearst is well known. In every possible way he fanned the flames of battle. In Mr. Pulitzer he found a close rival. The latter confessed "that he had rather liked the idea of war—not a big one—but one that would arouse interest and give him a chance to gauge the reflex in his circulation figures." Mr. Hearst's *Journal* soon passed the million mark, while in one week Mr. Pulitzer's *World* sold 5,000,000 copies; and before the war was over, it had reached 1,300,000 in a single day.

Demands for the annexation of Cuba had been made repeatedly in the decades prior to 1898. Three years before the outbreak of the war, Henry Cabot Lodge wrote in the *Forum:* "We have a record of conquest, colonization and expansion unequalled by any people in the Nineteenth Century. We are not to be curbed now . . . when the Nicaragua Canal is built the island of Cuba, still sparsely settled and of almost unbounded fertility, will become to us a necessity." Senator Morgan exclaimed: "Cuba should become an American colony." Senator Cullom said that if it was impossible to purchase Cuba, he would "like to have an opportunity to acquire it by conquest." Theodore Roosevelt wrote to Henry Cabot Lodge at the time of the Venezuela crisis: "The clamor of the peace faction has convinced me that this country needs a war."

President McKinley sincerely desired to prevent war, but lacked courage to withstand the jingoists. The declaration of war created wild enthusiasm. Members of the House sang with patriotic fervor, "Hang General Weyler to a Sour Apple Tree As We Go Marching On."

This volume completely dissipates the myth that we unselfishly fought the vicious Spaniards in behalf of innocent Cubans. It ought to be put on the required reading list in high schools and colleges.

K. P.

Jews and Christians

Jewish Pioneers in America. By Anita Libman Lebeson. Brentano's. $4.00.

The Jew and His Neighbour. By James W. Parkes. Richard R. Smith, Inc. $2.00.

The Jew Has Come Home. By Albert Londres. Richard R. Smith, Inc. $2.00.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS tell us that the "original nature" of culture-groups can be controlled—that is, forces within national, racial, and religious groupings can be directed by those who know the laws of cultural behavior. International wars, race riots, and religious feuds cannot be outmoded until man learns these culture processes and acts accordingly. Three laws stated by Clark Wissler illustrate what I mean: (1) Each tribe, or true national unit, regards itself as superior to all others and holds its culture to be the best. This means that all groups are to be met on an equal level. Notwithstanding the obvious soundness of this principle, would-be statesmen often proceed as if the opposite were true, and then express surprise that their good intentions are resented. (2) There is a tendency of a group to regard its culture as synonymous with its life. There is reason to believe this to be inborn, and if so it cannot be eradicated. Those who have the responsibility of dealing with independent cultural groups should bear this in mind, for the reaction to a threat to trample upon a culture is as inexorable as natural law. The importance of such principles lies in their value as cautions against blundering into a position that leaves the other group no recourse but to fight. (3) When a group attains a new solution to one of its important cultural problems, it is eager to spread that idea abroad and is moved to embark upon an era of conquest to force the recognition of its merits. The actions of the Russian Soviet Republic illustrate this law. . . .

The three books listed at the head of this review comprise material in one corner of the field of inter-group relations—Christian and Jew—where ignorance of these social principles has in the past so largely prevailed. Mrs. Lebeson's story of *Jewish Pioneers in America* is an account of the part Jews have played in our history from 1492 to the present time. The tale reads absorbingly, with many humorous anecdotes to illuminate a picture that is not altogether dark, even though some of the material deals with the conflict between Jews and Christians. The total effect is an impression of constructive and heroic American life.

James Parkes, whose work with the European Christian Student Movement brought him into contact with anti-Semitism,

wrote his book to account for the roots of the trouble. In his opinion, larger even than the contemporary economic and political factors bulk the patterns of religious thought surviving from the Middle Ages. Christians stupidly degraded the Jews by isolating them in ghettos; refusing them the right to own land; excluding them from normal occupations (a Bull of Pius V in 1566 prohibited Jews from any trade which might bring them into contact with Christians, excepting the buying and selling of old clothes); forcing them to wear distinguishing dress and then making that dress a mark of disgrace; persecuting them for their faith and attempting to force baptism upon them; destroying Jewish books, and at Easter ruling Jews off the streets.

In *The Jews Come Home* the French journalist Londres pictures the frightful conflicts that are taking place in our own day chiefly in Poland, Roumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. These pogroms are the symptoms of a continuous violation of the laws of health in social living. Londres' solution, however, is too simple: conflict situations in the case of Christians and Jews will not be solved merely by having the latter go home to Palestine. Indeed, conflicts between Christians and Jews will continue always. What we can do is to deal with them intelligently. Progress emerges from the contacts of varying cultures. The task facing Christian and Jewish leaders in all communities is to learn what culture groups are and, to borrow James Harvey Robinson's phrase, how "they get that way." In the light of known anthropological processes the question then will be: How can we continuously reconstruct inter-group relationships in what Dr. Kilpatrick terms a novelly developing world? One answer may be for Jews and Christians to work together on that very question not only as it concerns their immediate problems, but as it affects the larger relationships of international and inter-racial affairs.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY

Anti-Authoritarian

Liberty and Restraint. By Louis Le Fevre. Knopf. $3.50.

MR. LE FEVRE is a libertarian in a day which, in political theory and economic life, is drifting rapidly toward collectivism and authoritarianism. He insists that practically every form of social restraint except that which is voluntarily accepted is not only morally but biologically deleterious. To prove his point, he ransacks history, revealing the evil biological effects of benevolent and malevolent impositions of foreign culture upon primitive peoples, the consequences of imperialism and slavery, the results of aristocratic governments, and the by-products of modern industrial autocracy. It is a telling array of evidence for the thesis that autocracy is never as benevolent as it pretends to be, and that its consequences are not even equal to the measure of actual benevolence which in intention it may possess.

Surprisingly enough, the author has little to say about modern Russia where his libertarian ideals are more completely negated than anywhere else. He is certain that it is important and also difficult to preserve liberty in a machine civilization, but he is not particularly helpful in showing us the way of salvation. Shall we increase social control so that the average man will suffer less from arbitrary restraints upon his liberty by self-appointed industrial autocrats? If we do this, how will we prevent a new bureaucracy from usurping the position in society vacated by the private autocrat? Or are we willing to sacrifice a degree of liberty, knowing that only a strong state will be able to hold the self-will of powerful individuals in check and prevent them from robbing us of even more liberty than the state would ever dare to take?

Mr. Le Fevre's excellent analysis of the limitations of every type of autocracy is a wholesome warning to a generation in which not only conservatives but social radicals defend autocratic principles. But it does not really come to grips with our modern problem. Living in a highly inter-dependent world, we must use increasing degrees of compulsion to prevent minorities from interfering with the rights of majorities. How can we do this without creating a new administrative minority whose exactions will be as insufferable as those of the traditional autocrats? That is the crux of our modern problem upon which the present work throws little light. But perhaps it is enough that a book clarify one important social value without measuring it exactly against other values or suggesting the method of its realization in every situation.

R. N.

More About the Five Year Plan

The Success of the Five Year Plan. By V. M. Molotov. International Publishers. New York. $1.25.

The Soviet Planned Economic Order. By William Henry Chamberlin. World Peace Foundation. Boston. $2.50.

THE fortunes of Russia's Five Year Plan and the operation of the Soviet planning system continue to hold the attention of the world. While our statesmen appear frightened at the thought of a general economic plan, our economists and publicists vie with one another in the formulation of five- and ten-year plans for the United States. If imitation is the sincerest flattery, then the spokesmen of capitalistic America would seem to be paying a high compliment to communism.

The two books under consideration give the reader an excellent view of the Soviet undertaking. They are entirely trustworthy and bring the account down to the year 1931. The one gives an inside, the other an outside view; the first is written by the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, the second by a man who has established a reputation for objective and scholarly study of Russian affairs. The volumes are consequently complementary and might well be read together.

The Success of the Five Year Plan contains a full report of the address delivered by the Soviet premier before the Sixth All-Union Congress of Soviets which was held in Moscow in March, 1931. Here the reader will find the Soviet point of view on "dumping" and "forced labor" clearly stated. The second part is devoted to the Five Year Plan and the general program for the building of socialism. The progress of the plan during the first two years is summarized and the program for the current year outlined. The merit of this little volume lies in the fact that it enables us to look out upon the world through Soviet eyes. It also gives us a glimpse into the mind of one of the younger leaders of the revolutionary movement.

In *The Soviet Planned Economic Order,* Mr. Chamberlin describes the Soviet planning system, discusses the Five Year Plan in execution, outlines the revolution in Russian agriculture, and indulges in some speculation with regard to results and prospects. The book also contains a series of important documents relating to the Five Year Plan.

Mr. Chamberlin prosecuted the study under the auspices of the World Peace Foundation. While the volume is somewhat less well written than his *Soviet Russia,* it is concise and comprehensive. The chapter on results and prospects is particularly good. Here the author sets down side by side the favorable and un-

favorable elements in the situation. Whether the plan will succeed or fail he does not say. He does assert, however, that "the carrying out of the Five Year Plan has changed the visible face of the Soviet Union more than the original Bolshevik revolution changed pre-war Russia." He declares also, "There can no longer be any reasonable expectation that the Soviet Union will revert to 'capitalism.' . . . As Kuibishev has said, the race between the 'capitalist' and 'socialist' economic systems has begun." And undoubtedly this should be one of the most exciting races of history.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

Labor's Story in England

England Arise! By Godfrey Elton. Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d.

MR. ELTON has written a history of the English labor movement which not only illumines England's political life from the late eighties to the present day but also offers the reader the romance of the development of a forlorn hope into a formidable political power. From Henry Hyndman's early and futile efforts to make Marxian socialism palatable to the English down to Keir Hardie's later and less futile elaboration of a socialist philosophy and strategy in which Marx takes his place with a whole host of other "authorities"—Robert Burns, Jesus, Robert Owen, Sir Thomas More, Carlyle, and Ruskin—we have a dramatic and moving account of the gradual development of labor thought and power in England. If anyone wants to know why British labor has never been Marxian in the continental sense, and what the real roots of its philosophy are, this brief history will provide the explanation. In its pages the various leaders appear not only as important political figures but as distinct personalities, to be understood and perhaps loved and admired.

As a whole, the book leaves the impression that British socialism is more distinctively ethical in its inspiration than any national socialist movement. From the standpoint of the orthodox Marxist there are limitations in this ethical emphasis; but a comparison with continental movements will reveal that not only in spiritual quality but in political potency the English variety of socialist thought is often superior.

R. N.

Variously Biographical

Men and Forces of Our Time. By Valeriu Marcu. Viking Press. $2.50.

Innocence Abroad. By Emily Clark. Knopf. $3.00.

Contemporary Immortals. By Archibald Henderson. Appleton. $2.50.

The Quick and the Dead. By Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton, Mifflin Co. $3.50.

IT is perhaps a mistake to review these volumes under a blanket title, for the first two are not, strictly speaking, biographies. *Men and Forces of Our Time,* which Eden and Cedar Paul have translated from the German, is a book of ideas rather than lives, a deft analysis of present-day tendencies expressed through such personalities as Lenin, Mussolini, Foch, Chesterton, Clemenceau, Kemal Pasha, and others. Although no Americans are included, the volume affords considerable insight into the forces and philosophy that are shaping our modern world.

In 1921 Emily Clark founded and for four years thereafter edited the *Reviewer,* a literary magazine published in Richmond and distinguished by the high calibre of its contributors among whom were Cabell, Hergesheimer, Mencken, DuBose Heyward, Elinor Wylie, Ernest Boyd, and Julia Peterkin. Despite its short career, the *Reviewer* attained a position of influence in the intellectual life of the South. *Innocence Abroad,* the editor's reminiscences, is an entertaining series of literary portraits comprising a number of hitherto unpublished letters and an abundance of lively anecdote.

However invidious comparisons may be, they are sometimes unavoidable. The last two volumes under consideration contain sketches of the same three men: Mussolini, Thomas Edison, and Henry Ford. In addition, Gamaliel Bradford includes Lenin, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Coolidge, while Mr. Henderson adds to his list of "immortals" the names of Shaw, Marconi, Gandhi, Einstein, Paderewski, Kipling, Madame Curie, Jane Addams, and Orville Wright. But where Professor Henderson has given us typically American biographies designed along "don't knock—boost" lines, Bradford's work is distinguished by its penetrating, judicial analysis of each character.

The chief weakness of Mr. Henderson's collection is a critical deficiency. As a biographer he is over-exuberant, and his sketches remind one of nothing so much as the super-saccharine "Heroes and Heroines" series to which the youth of older generations were regularly exposed. Only in the case of Mussolini does Mr. Henderson say anything uncomplimentary, and even that is tempered by his somewhat naive respect for *Il Duce* as "a man of conviction and a statesman with a matured political philosophy moulded by intense study." Himself a professor of mathematics, Mr. Henderson is at his best in dissecting the scientists under his biographical microscope: Einstein, Marconi, Edison, and Curie.

Gamaliel Bradford has been called the Lytton Strachey of America and deservedly so. *The Quick and the Dead,* a volume that no intelligent reader should miss, testifies anew to his mastery as a biographer. A series of superbly executed studies, it is notable not only for its biographical acumen, but for its excellence of style, its appreciation of the social, political and economic as well as the ethical and cultural factors implicit in each man's life.

G. E. M.

WE RECOMMEND

Mahatma Gandhi and His Significance. By Kirby Page. 15 cents, from the author, 347 Madison Ave., New York City. A 25,000 word pamphlet containing a biographical interpretation and an up-to-date analysis of the political situation in India, as well as an outline of the difficulties confronting the Round Table Conference.

Perhaps Women. By Sherwood Anderson. Horace Liveright, Inc. $2.00. This disturbing little book develops the thesis that man has been enervated and benumbed by the machine and that in woman lies the hope of the future. Life in a mill village is sketched with tragic vividness.

Noguchi. By Gustav Eckstein. Harper Brothers. $5.00. The biography of a Japanese peasant boy whose stupendous achievements in bacteriology made him one of the world's great scientists. The erratic and engaging personality of this artist-scientist is portrayed with insight and understanding, his dramatic history is set forth vividly and forcefully. An incidental but not negligible value of the book is that it makes the field of bacteriology intelligible to the layman.

A Lawyer Tells the Truth. By Morris Gisnet. With an Introduction by Norman Thomas. Concord Press. $2.00. A portrayal of widespread commercialization and corruption of the bar and bench in the United States.

New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man. By Sir Arthur Keith. Norton. 512 pages. $5.00. A great anthropologist follows the trail of prehistoric man and reveals what is known of him today. An excellent volume to bring your knowledge of this subject up to date.

Australia. By W. K. Hancock. Scribner's. 326 pages. $5.00. Another volume in *The Modern World* series. It deals broadly with the history and problems of Australia, including chapters on State Socialism, Labor, Politics, Literature and Art.

Life Among the Lowbrows. By Eleanor Rowland Wembridge. Houghton Mifflin Co. 301 pp. $2.50. A series of case histories by the referee of the Juvenile Court of Cleveland. Written in charmingly informal style and revealing a deep sympathy as well as a sense of humor on the part of their author, these sketches are among the best record we have of the kind of mental and moral driftwood that falls into the hopper of our courts. Although primarily a social worker, Mrs. Wembridge has the novelist's gift of making her characters live.

St. Vitus Day. By Stephen Graham. Appleton. 349 pages. $2.50. St. Vitus Day or *Vidovdan* is the greatest national festival of the Serbs, commemorating the defeat of the Serbs by the Turks at Kossovo in 1389. This was also the day on which the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated in 1914. Graham has done an excellent historical novel on this murder of 1914, from the conception of the plot to the death of the archduke and his wife, and the trial and end of the conspirators. Several pages on the international political background are among the few false notes.

A Psychological Approach to Theology. By Walter Marshall Horton. Harper Brothers. $2.50. If anyone imagines that theology is content to rattle the dry bones of tradition, he would do well to read this latest work by one of the most original and profound of America's younger theologians. It is an effort to justify religion in psychological terms, and reveals the resources of religion for man's personal, social, and cosmic problems. While Professor Horton is aware of the social challenge which modern religion faces, his analysis of the resources of religion is more helpful in solving cases of personal maladjustment than in alleviating social ills.

Lucy Stone. By Alice Stone Blackwell. Little, Brown & Co. 313 pp. $3.00. Lucy Stone was more than just a crusader for woman suffrage and the founder of the "Lucy Stone League." She played an active role in the Massachusetts abolitionist movement, she founded and edited the *Women's Journal,* and she did a great deal to make it possible for women to enter medicine, law, and other professions hitherto closed to them. She was one of the first women to graduate from college with a degree, and the first married woman to insist upon keeping her own name. It was she who converted Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe. This interesting biography is the work of her daughter who, true to her heritage, has espoused another movement for social betterment—the anti-war crusade.

Mad Heroes. By Joseph Tenenbaum. Knopf. 226 pages. $2.5 War stories by a physician on the Austrian front, well told an realistic. The cruel and brutal mockery of human life and lov in war time has seldom found apter expression than in the la tale, "The Mad Professor."

Making Bolsheviks. By Samuel N. Harper. University of Ch cago Press. $2.00. Professor Harper, who knows as muc about Russia as anyone in our nation, explains in this litt book just how the propaganda and educational program of th communists in Russia work. It is an informative and highl rewarding book.

The Black Napoleon: The Story of Toussaint Louverture. B Percy Waxman. Harcourt, Brace. 298 pages. $3.50. Toussain Louverture and his heroic exploits on Santo Domingo have re ceived a good deal of attention—and they deserve it for variou reasons. The story of this gallant Negro is here retold agains the background of Dominican history and eighteenth cen tury world politics. The book deserves wide reading.

CORRESPONDENCE

Events in Chile

ALTHOUGH in recent months Chile has struggled throug a fog of uncertainty and suffering, she stands toda stronger for the ordeal and proud that she has won back he constitutional liberty.

Four years ago Carlos Ibáñez put himself in power. Althoug claiming to be elected, every one knew that the election whic made him President was only form and its result had been de termined before it was held. In the years that followed Chil gained a stability that she had not known for some time. Whil the *peso* went down in other countries, in Chile it remained stabl Public works were started, buildings were erected, and many ne improvements came. At the same time the Army was increase from 30,000 to 70,000, the Navy was strengthened, and the powe of force increased on all sides.

To accomplish all this, Ibáñez used the usual method: he bo rowed money—more and more money. No one except the inne circle knew how much. As time went on, people began to ques tion. Did the end justify the means? Was it worth while t make all this rapid progress at such a terrific cost to the country Taxes became heavier, and an income tax was initiated whic made all feel the pressure. But to question was to be *deterrad* (banished). Men who had been prominent in the political o professional life of the country would be at work or in their home one day and gone the next. A network of spies was created tha invaded all circles of life.

Finally the economic crisis became acute. Chile's wealth i nitrate became her poverty, the salitre fields were closed, an thousands left without work were brought to Santiago whe they were housed in great barn-like structures called *albergue* (shelters). And as conditions grew worse, there was no mone with which to finish the public works that had been started. The the day came when no one would loan any more money an Ibáñez' borrowing power was at an end.

In desperation he named a new cabinet in which he place

Montero as Minister of the Interior and Blanquier as Minister of Finance. The latter had always been remembered for what he had done some years before to improve the National Railroads. People were overjoyed at this announcement, for here were two men in whom the public had confidence. They accepted their posts on condition that freedom of the press and of assembly should be restored; that the men deported should be permitted to return; that the facts concerning Chile's financial condition should be published.

There was no other course for Ibáñez but to accept their terms. Facts were published. Chile gasped. She had had no idea that her debt was four billion *pesos* (about 500 million dollars)—more than a thousand *pesos* for every man, woman and child in the country. Still it was better to know the truth, and the cabinet set to work. Salaries must be reduced, including salaries of army and navy officers and the president. But for too long a time Ibáñez had depended upon the force of arms to uphold him; he did not dare take a chance on their disfavor. Consequently he refused to sanction the move.

The cabinet, having been in power a week, resigned—all except the Ministers of the Army and the Navy. Demonstrations followed, including a strike of university students and doctors.

At noon on Sunday, July 26th, Ibáñez, faced with the fact that his days were ended, turned the reins of government over to the vice-president and left the country.

The days that followed have been interesting ones. While in Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil, public sentiment expressed itself by sacking the President's house and burning the newspapers which were controlled by the government, in Santiago there was no vandalism. The *carabineros* were quickly withdrawn and for three days Santiago, a city of almost 800,000 inhabitants, had the unusual experience of being absolutely without police control. The students organized a *Guarda Civica* and with two-hour shifts controlled the traffic of the city with the help at night of the *Bomberos,* Chile's volunteer firemen. Juan Estenban Montero was again named Minister of the Interior, formed a new Cabinet, and then became Vice-President. In contrast with Argentina which is under a military provisional government, Chile is carrying on constitutionally with a civil government and elections have been called for October fourth.

Two things have been uppermost in the mind of the leading groups and are reflected in the newspapers. First, Chile is through with military control and dictatorship and will insist on constitutional government. Second there has been a sincere desire that party lines shall for the time being be forgotten and all groups unite on a presidential candidate who is without personal ambition and in whom the people have confidence.

At once the name of Montero was heard on all sides. In a recent editorial, *El Mercurio* describes him as "an example of character and of moral discipline, of spiritual pride, of absolute disinterestedness in all personal ambition, of severe and inflexible strictness in respect to the law". But never having been in politics before and having a keen interest in his work as a lawyer and teacher, he would not accept the suggestion. However, after professional men all over the country, irrespective of previous political affiliations, begged him for the sake of the country to accept the nomination, he consented.

Difficult days are ahead for Chile. With a terrific burden of debt, with her greatest source of public income practically paralyzed, with an army of unemployed and with salaries cut everywhere, the future is none too bright.

In a recent editorial *El Diario Ilustrado,* the most outspoken paper during the struggle, states that two tasks confront the government: economic reconstruction and moral reconstruction of the Republic. After four years of oppression Chile does not know what her capacity for self-discipline is. But to know Chile is to love her and to wish her well in the struggle.

Santiago, Chile ANNE GUTHRIE

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The Last Page

MANY excellent people seem puzzled over the cause of the depression. The more eminent, especially, the more bewildered. Now all this is very unfortunate. If we ever get over the depression, it will be a problem for the rest of our lives to know what it was all about. And if we never emerge from it, it's going to be positively nasty not to comprehend why.

It happens that Eccentricus, in addition to his native keenness, has interviewed some very important people in the world of financial and political affairs—at any rate, they all said they were important—and he has heard explanations of every viewpoint, all the way from the Five Year Plan in Russia to the daily Five Minutes of Optimism in the White House. He has conversed with experts like young Nilsen, the Norwegian, who, after studying the Italian unemployment situation as a former worker in a Milan travel bureau, borrowed two marks from Eccentricus on Friedrichstrasse in Berlin as an aid toward getting home to Stavanger. He has parley-vood with Theodore, a Basle cab-driver, who knows all about the International Bank. He has hobnobbed with the bill poster who first pasted up the notices about the condition of the Kreditanstalt at Vienna. He has pondered the ways of French banking many a time while leaning on the rotten antique desks prudently retained for present use in the various large branch banks of the Credit Lyonnais. He has found ways of persuading taxi men in Luxemburg to accept Czech kronen acquired at the official Italian tourist agency in Austria. The rate of exchange in Monaco is as much of his life, really, as the intricacies of differential calculus. The movements of specie from the Orient toward the Mediterranean regions are absolutely as plain to him as the tide cycles of Nova Zembla.

Obviously, it is no time to keep silence. Great truths should be uttered now if ever. It is a duty to the race to reveal what one knows about this complex situation—especially since everyone else is revealing what is not known. And so I intend to speak: to speak with that clarity, forthrightness, devotion to high principle, and readiness to serve my people which my constituents well know I have always placed at their disposal when elected to office—which I never have been yet, though you can't tell.

* * *

NOW, my dears, once upon a time there was a lot of gold in the world. But the world's gold production has been shrinking; you never saw anything more modest. There has been less and less gold. You may actually have noticed this yourself. Such a situation naturally prompts the query: What are we going to use for money? But nobody has been using money lately; everyone has been using credit. Credit is like a cheap cigar—the nearer you use it down to the end, the fouler the taste becomes. The solemn truth is, the Bank for International Settlements was just receiving the conclusive report of its fourth Gold Commission, which would have cleared the way for the fifth Commission, when there was a sudden shipment of silver from Afghanistan to Mexico. This just shows you what you are up against until you make the whole world as civilized as the U.S.A. *Why* was there this shipment? Can't you figure out *anything* for yourself?

I only know that at this same time, so inter-related is our economic life, that the drain of bullion in the Bank of England was paralleled by an abnormal flow of bouillon in Paris. The credit balance had been effectually plugged, and there ensued a huge wave of short selling on the Bourse in Budapest that was the envy of every hairdresser in Europe. Again, there was stalwart action at Geneva; for astute capitalists had come to see that the true cause of the trouble was the boll weevil. The boll weevil, it appears, had been loafing on the job and had produced a bumper American cotton crop. Our Federal Farm Board's suggestion that a third of the crop be burned was discounted because of the difficulty of being sure that every third bale was the one having the lowest percentage of boll weevils. It was seen then that nothing short of a drastic move toward de-stabilization would remedy the crisis, and Harry Sinclair in the States and Lord Burlingame in England at once announced a reduction of fifty per cent in their racing stables. When capitalists get aroused, they move with swift intelligence.

This patriotic action brought hope to the whole capitalist world. There was a sharp revival in Wall Street—and, as all evangelists know, no place ever stood in more desperate need of a revival. Here again, however, the complexity of modern life intervened to create a new crisis. What was to be done about dumping? If you think this a sheer nervous worry, just put yourself in the place of a family that has no back yard, that lives high above the street, that has the same problem you have of getting rid of tin cans and razor blades, and has no garbage collection—just what, my cynical friend, would *you* do about dumping? Well, several countries have been doing the same thing. They have let their over-produced goods accumulate, only throwing in other people's back yards what they could get away with. This is really the fault of the Bolsheviks—several prominent people have told me this in strictest confidence—and I can only let it out here because nobody of consequence ever reads Eccentricus anyway.

* * *

IN more ways than one, the Soviets deserve all the blame. For example, they have been monkeying in China, and China is suffering from the depreciation of silver. You can hardly fail to see that, as gold has been appreciated, silver has become restless. With gold dear and silver cheap, what can you do? Exactly! Of course many financiers have grown cautious and are inclined to invest their surplus profits in conservative paper such as tobacco coupons. This, again, has had an effect on the tobacco market, tending to counteract the effects of the drouth. The ordinary consumer, often finding it necessary to walk a mile for his smoke if he is to get it at all, has thus decreased the bus traffic, bringing about a collapse in the demand for gasoline. In turn, we are suffering from an over-production of oil. Statistics prove this, and there is no let-up in statistics.

* * *

IT was Madame Tussaud, I think, who first called my attention to the increase of wheat imports into Italy, and this, coupled with the lowering of the bank rate to 5½ per cent has affected staples, even stimulating repercussions against garlic. Can you wonder? The perfectly natural demand for more room for the population is reflected in the pools which control marginal metals. For instance, if you think you can do it, take quicksilver. It is confidently predicted that the world use of quicksilver will drop next year from the normal 90,000 to 50,000 bottles. You may never have thought of this before, and neither have I. Yet imagine what the result might be! With that much less quicksilver in circulation it has all got to stretch much farther than ever before. Think what this will do to your thermometer! The strain on the weather will inevitably be fearful. Who knows whether the outcome will be felt first on the Polish-Lithuanian frontier, where matters are pretty hot already, or whether the withering of the potato crop will bring new outbreaks in Ireland? Gone are the days when you could pray for rain in Arkansas and not create trouble in Kamchatka.

* * *

I TRUST that from now on practically everything will be clear. It is not easy to put these involved movements of trade, politics, currency, and whatnot into simple language. Philip Snowden said last year that if two inches could be added to every Chinese man's shirt, the Lancashire cotton slump would be overcome. He neglected to ascertain, however, that most Chinese men, and very sensibly too, do not wear shirts. But price indices, which have not escaped the backwash of England's conversion loan and the profit-taking on Four Per Cent Consols, have nevertheless withstood pretty well, at least so far as I am concerned, the hammering of Brazilian bonds, the weakness of base metals, and the sluggishness of the White Sox and Yankees. Everything in the last analysis depends on the ability to move goods and, judging from many signs, mine will be moved out before long.

* * *

IF you can forgive this personal note, I will go on to say that if anyone still is not sure he has learned the fundamental cause of the world's present economic difficulties, I hope he will write me enclosing stamps—the more the better. ECCENTRICUS

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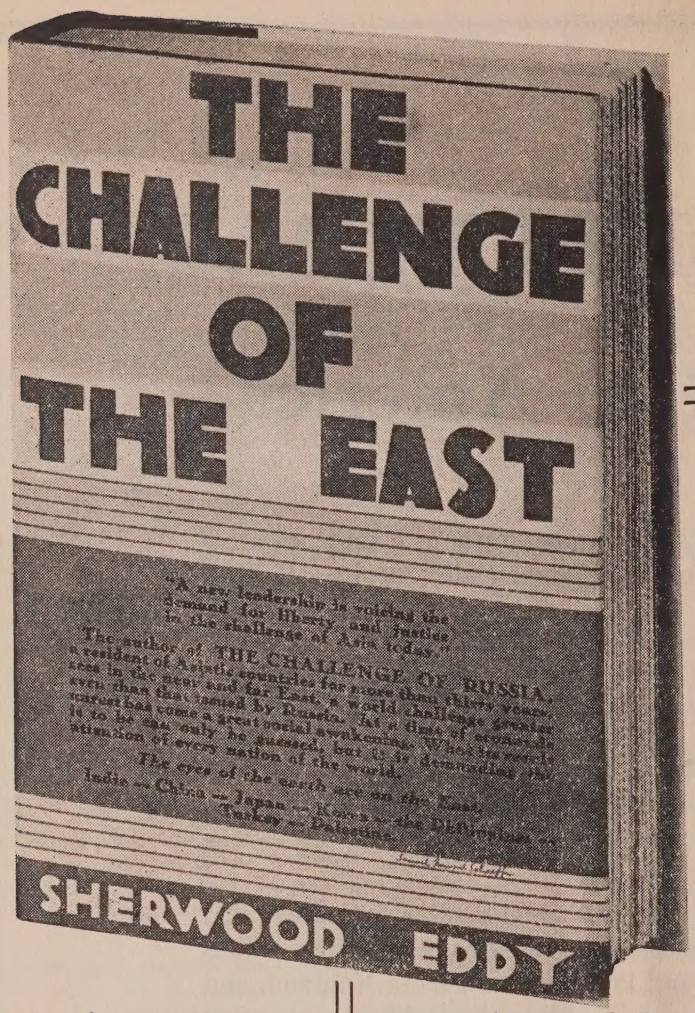

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